STUDIES IN MODERN HISTORY

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THE JEWS
IN THE
MODERN WORLD

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THE JEWS
IN THE
MODERN WORLD

BY

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INTRODUCTION

A FEW years ago a Japanese diplomat in Berlin asked a German statesman to recommend to him a Professor of anti-Semitism. Being told that there was no such Chair in the University—"What!" exclaimed the Japanese, "you talk anti-Semitism day and night, and have no one to teach it?" "But anyhow, what do you need it for?" asked the German. "You have no Jews." "No, we haven't," was the reply, "but we hear that they are coming, and so we want to be prepared."

Presumably the Japanese diplomat desired to obtain accurate information concerning a people whom he heard described as dangerous and unpleasant; and we Jews can wish that many anti-Semites, or potential anti-Semites should share his desire. Our position in the world is anomalous, difficult, and often ambiguous; and not everyone who feels uncomfortable with regard to us must be called an anti-Semite, nor is there anything necessarily and inherently wicked in anti-Semitism. Nations do not like each other and they dislike strangers in their midst; but what others can bear with comparative, or even cheerful, indifference is made painful for us by our defenceless, helpless condition, and the fact that we Jews frequently do not feel "strangers" where we are considered as such. Still, we have a right to demand from anti-Semites, if sane and civilized, that they should honestly try to acquaint themselves with the facts of the problem which seems to exercise their minds, and that in forming their conclusions they should show a measure of good sense and common kindness without which no difficult problem can be successfully tackled.

Dr. Ruppin's book offers plentiful material to friends and

foes who wish to be informed. But this is not its main purpose, and in arranging for its publication I was thinking primarily of the wide Jewish public in English-speaking countries, to-day the most numerous and most influential body in Jewry. The information which the book supplies should help to guide our own counsels and actions. For whatever the non-Jewish world may or may not do to us, and however much we may depend on it, ultimately our fate is in our hands; our interest in our own future is such that if focussed and rightly directed, it must prove decisive. The issue of a crisis depends not so much on its magnitude as on the courage and resolution with which the crisis is met.

Numbers affect our problem in a peculiar manner: to a nation rooted in its own soil, complete in its social structure, and therefore reasonably self-sufficient, they mean strength and security, but for us, outside Palestine, they have always constituted a danger. This was, and is, the curse of the *Galuth* (the Exile); a nation cannot, and must not, grow except in soil which it can call its own. Even where we form one-tenth of the population, we are helpless against a hostile attack by the organized forces of the majority. We cannot sustain an economic attack, for our occupational structure lacks inner balance; and we are morally unarmed for a political struggle, even where we have a strong communal or national consciousness. Attachment to home and country give a man the strength to fight; but such love, in the *Galuth*, binds us through the land to the community and State which are built upon it, that means to the "majority-nation"; though this does not necessarily bind them to us. Faced by Nazi persecutions, many Jews who had felt German and had fought and worked for Germany, committed suicide from humiliation and despair; such suicides were greeted with glee by the Nazi press, which voiced the hope that many more Jews would take leave of Germany in that way.

As a rule, we are safest where we are few—where we receive individual treatment, fit ourselves into the national framework, and can rise without arousing attention or jealousy. In such circumstances we most quickly dissolve and disappear, and reach that supreme security which for the Jews in the Diaspora lies in non-existence. This was the path of certain old European Jewries, and would, within measurable time, have been that of German Jewry, if they had had to deal with a normal people. Still, for the main body of the Jewish people the nineteenth century (which extends till 1914) was not an age of numerical decline, but of the greatest expansion.

At the destruction of the Jewish State, in 70 A.D., our numbers, according to an estimate quoted by Dr. Ruppin, were 4½ millions, of whom, even then, only one million inhabited Palestine; the greatest part were scattered from Baghdad to Alexandria. This was the Oriental period of Jewish history.

In the eleventh century the spiritual and political centre of world-Jewry began to shift to Spain and by 1492 the Sephardic Jews formed, even numerically, the most important body in Jewry. With the persecutions and expulsions which set in about that time, closes the Spanish, or Iberian, period of our history.

During the next three centuries, our numbers remained low, and when by 1800 world-Jewry reached the figure of about 2½ millions, nearly half of it inhabited the territories of the late Kingdom of Poland. This shifting of the centre was probably due at least as much to differences in the rate of natural increase as to migrations—before the end of the eighteenth century, towns were the graveyards of population, and in Poland alone did the Jews live largely in rural, or semi-rural, surroundings. The nineteenth century is in our history the period of the numerical preponderance of the Yiddish-speaking Jew of Eastern Europe, and of the intellectual and economic predominance of the German Jew.

The outstanding feature of the period 1750–1914 was the rapid growth of European populations, based on a reduction of the death-rate, especially the infantile death-rate; it started in the West, spread eastward, and was followed, and ultimately checked, by a fall in the birth-rate. Possibly the complex of phenomena described as "progress", which, at one time, seemed to us a law of human nature and history, was basically connected with the rapid growth of population. This called for expansion and change, for thought, research, and freedom; and these principles being dominant were carried, by a curious process of percolation common in the history of human thought, into every province of life. At the same time there occurred an enormous growth of cities; mass-migrations overseas; a widening of the "political nation"; a strong increase in the numbers of the professional intelligentsia and black-coated workers—all this against the background of the capitalist system, based at first on freedom of trade and competition, but hardening subsequently into nationalized or trustified organizations.

Two races headed the movement, though under vastly different conditions—the British and the Jews; they were the pioneers of capitalism, and its first, and perhaps chief, beneficiaries. They were the first to reduce their death-rate, and to achieve a great natural increase; a greater proportion from among them emigrated than from any other nation; they are now the two most urban communities; and the two most widely scattered in the world; have the largest percentage of black-coated workers and professional intelligentsia; and are threatened by the rise of the corresponding classes in countries in which they live dispersed. They have worked for other nations, not for profit only, but with an idealism for which they are seldom given credit, and have rendered services—the Jews among the white races and the British in dark continents—for which they are not thanked; and they have both preached ideas of world-wide freedom and world-wide co-operation, on which the others have

turned their backs. Now both have to face the problem of restoring their own inner economic balance, and of achieving a measure of self-sufficiency.

But the Englishman can say: "We are a world Power; our retreat within our Empire is largely governed by our own will and choice; we can regulate its pace; there is force in us if we choose to employ it; and we can fall back upon this island which we have neglected while developing continents; we can, and shall, develop it; we have the resources of a State with which to re-establish the balance of our economy and a necessary measure of economic independence; if need be, we have the means for an intense and successful economic and political nationalism".

The Jew, on the other hand, must say: "In the Galuth we are like so many slaves and hostages dependent on the will of others; we may be well treated, or badly; if badly, we have hardly the means for self-defence; if we have to retreat, the pace of our retreat is prescribed by others; we must now undergo a fundamental process of economic re-orientation, but we have neither the resources of a State nor the place wherein to effect it; all our strength is in a faith mixed with despair, and all the space we can claim is Palestine, our Promised Land, now the 'half-promised' land of Mandatory politics; moreover we have grown so numerous that Palestine can hold but a fraction of our people, and so poor that it is only with the greatest difficulty that we can raise the means for developing even the limited possibilities of Palestine".

This is the last century of Jewish history in figures as presented by Dr. Ruppin: in 1825 there were $3\frac{1}{4}$ million Jews; 1850: $4\frac{3}{4}$; 1880: $7\frac{1}{2}$; 1900: $10\frac{1}{2}$; 1925: 15; 1933: nearly 16 millions.

In 1825, $2\frac{1}{4}$ millions Jews inhabited Eastern Europe, while the remaining million was almost equally divided between the other European and the Oriental Jews; only about 10,000 lived in America.

Oriental Jewry, even in the nineteenth century, continued

to inhabit medieval ghettos; their increase was small, and their proportion in world-Jewry dropped from 16·5 per cent in 1825 to something over 7 per cent in 1900.

The Jews of Western and Central Europe had a considerable natural increase till about 1850, and a slow increase during the next 30-50 years; but owing to a very low birth-rate in more recent times, and to considerable losses through mixed marriages and baptisms, they would probably by now have been reduced to the figure of 1850, had it not been for immigration from Eastern Europe. It was there that the main increase occurred.

Of the 7½ million Jews in 1880, almost three-fourths inhabited Eastern Europe, or rather the great Yiddish-speaking Pale which stretched from Riga to Odessa, and from Cracow to Vilna and Kiev. Between 1800 and 1880, that Pale had extended slightly along its eastern and southern edges, in White Russia and the Ukraine, and into Kherson, Bessarabia, Moldavia, and, across the Carpathians, into Hungary; while its western fringes, in Prussian Poland, had melted away, through migrations to Central and Western Germany, to England and America. But in the main the Jewry of the Pale remained solid, unmoved, unchanged.

In 1882 started the Jewish mass-migrations, mainly to America; and by now (1933), less than half of world-Jewry is left in Eastern Europe. While in 1825 only three Jews in a thousand inhabited America, and in 1880 three in a hundred, now the proportion is roughly three in ten; but owing to the strong natural increase of those years, the present Jewish population of the East European Pale still exceeds, in absolute figures, that of 1880, and is at least equal to that of 1900.

About 1830 the Jewish birth-rate in Prussia was 35 per thousand, and in Eastern Europe it continued at this, or even at a higher, figure till near the end of the century. But by 1930 the Jewish birth-rate in Vienna was only about 6 per thousand, in Prussia about 9, in Hungary 11, in Rou-

mania 16, and in Poland 20 per thousand.[1] Had the drop in the birth-rate occurred in Eastern Europe some fifty years ago, or had the death-rate remained at its previous level a century longer, there would probably be now no serious Jewish problem in the world. It is the rapid growth in the nineteenth century which is responsible for our present situation; a nation living under desperately anomalous conditions finds sorrow in that which to others would mean a gain.

Politically and economically the nineteenth century, and especially its second half, was the age of the preponderance of the Germans on the European Continent, and of the German Jews in world-Jewry; but the Germans neither knew, nor cared to know, for how much of their economic and intellectual primacy they were indebted to the Jews. In 1914 the Jews of Germany and Western Austria were (in proportion to their numbers) the richest, best educated, and most highly cultured Jewish community in the world. While the Jewish proletariat from the East European Pale migrated mainly to the United States, Great Britain, and the British Dominions—*i.e.* to the English-speaking countries—the intelligentsia and upper middle class were tending towards German Central Europe; the Pale, which at that time had neither a nationality nor a capital of its own, became a kind of Jewish *hinterland* to Central Europe. It was thus that the age of the great numerical preponderance of the East European Jew became that of the economic and cultural predominance of the German Jew.

In about four-fifths of the Pale, Russian was the official language, without being in most parts even the language of its non-Jewish population; while Russia's capitals, St. Petersburg and Moscow, were distant and practically closed to the Jews—and so were its schools and Universities, under

[1] These figures are only approximate, as the exact figures given below by Dr. Ruppin do not all relate to the same year; see Table VI. p. 73.

the *numerus clausus*. From Yiddish there was an easy transition to German, and the Austrian and German High Schools and Universities were nearest to the Pale and open to the East European Jews. To the Jews of Galicia, of the Czech provinces, and to some extent even of Hungary, Vienna was the social and intellectual capital, and for a certain number a station on the road to Berlin; while Berlin and other German towns became intellectual and economic centres for the Russian, Polish, and Roumanian Jews. Tens of thousands received their training in Germany; most of them subsequently returned to their homes and involuntarily served there as channels for German intellectual and economic penetration—which did not make the Jews more popular in the countries concerned. Again, in English-speaking countries the German Jews, especially those of Frankfort and Hamburg, served as intermediaries and interpreters for the Germans, who themselves hardly excel in dealings with other nations. Men like Sir Ernest Cassel or Mr. Jacob Schiff, to mention two outstanding examples, while loyal to the countries of their adoption, preserved a regard and attachment for the country of their origin; and again the Jews as a whole suffered from the supposed German taint. The only people who never recognized, or perhaps never realized, the services rendered by the Jews to Germany, were the Germans themselves. They believed the Jews to be powerful; they knew, or ought to have known, that the German Jews were devoted to Germany; they might have known what, under these conditions, was the value of having the economic and intellectual centre of world-Jewry within their borders. But the pleasure derived from insulting and humiliating other men outweighed every consideration—this being the way in which some people establish, or restore, their self-appreciation.

Moreover the Jew is fundamentally uncongenial to the German. The German is methodical, crude, constructive mainly in a mechanical sense, extremely submissive to

authority, a rebel or a fighter only by order from above; he gladly remains all his life a tiny cog in a machine. The Leviathan State of modern German political theory and practice is a psychological counterpart to Germany's previous division into hundreds of petty States, and both are the expression of German political and social ineptitude. The Jew, of Oriental or Mediterranean race, is creative, pliable, individualistic, restless, and undisciplined; he could have formed a useful complement and corrective to the German. But the German could not digest him—as Nietzsche says: "German intellect is indigestion; it can assimilate nothing". German culture is perhaps the least national of all cultures; it is essentially middle-class and urban in origin, the landed classes in Germany (in contradistinction to England and France, Poland and Hungary) having contributed little to it; it started in abstract thought, and finished in crude materialism. It is perhaps because German culture is urban that the Jews found it easiest to work in it. And perhaps Caliban's ill-humour, and next his fury, are due to—but it is not worth speculating here about their reasons.

In terms of the German culture the Jews did great work, for which the Germans received the credit, giving none in turn to the Jews. It was only after the Nazi revolution had driven out Einstein, Reinhardt, and Bruno Walter that the world at large realized they were Jews. The same could be said of hundreds of other men. But there is no need to argue the point. The contention of the Nazis is not that the Jews were unimportant or ineffective, but that they held too many leading positions, and that their work was "unwholesome" for the "Aryan" Germans. Of what is "wholesome" for these, they alone must be the judges; but as for the number of leading positions held by Jews, especially in the liberal professions, no one who has known Germany even in pre-Nazi days will believe that Jews had obtained them on the strength of being Jews. Legal exclusion and the

concentration camp are now used, where no handicap, however severe, had proved sufficient.

The War, which destroyed the political and economic predominance of Germany and Austria-Hungary, went far to shatter that of their Jews in world-Jewry. Russia cut herself off from the outer world; the Border and Succession States, strongly nationalist and in most cases anti-German, cut themselves off from Central Europe; German and German-Jewish influence was waning. Inflation destroyed a great part of the wealth of Central European Jewry; their trade was shrinking. The financial centre of world-Jewry had moved to New York, and the political centre, because of the Palestine Mandate, to London; and with nearly one-third of world-Jewry removed to English-speaking countries, its centre of gravity was anyhow bound to shift. The change was delayed by the fact that a very large proportion of the Jewish immigrants still lived as workmen and small traders on the East Side of New York, in the East End of London, or in the ghettos of Canadian and South African cities; the full effect of the migration will only be felt in time—for whatever may be said of us, be it good or bad, no one denies that we count for something.

The nineteenth-century connexion with the Germans was a disaster for us. As slaves—even worse, as voluntary captives—the German Jews built an Arch of Titus for Germany, and such was their attachment to the country that, had the Germans merely proceeded slowly, they could have still gone a long way in the moral abasement of the Jews without losing their services. But now the Nazis deliberately and systematically cut the remaining threads of the Jewish net of which Germany had been the centre. All that we Jews can, and should, do in self-respect is to help them to cut these threads.

When the head of Louis XVI. fell, all the monarchs of Europe felt their necks; when the blow fell on the head of

German Jewry, many of us other Jews began to wonder what the future had in store for various branches of our people. It is too early to pronounce a judgment, but high time to consider our position; and though no other, not even the culturally most backward country, is likely to display the same disregard of human rights—at least not without producing a reaction among its own people—there is no doubt that in one way or another the German example will stimulate anti-Semitic movements in other countries. We must not overrate the significance of the German catastrophe, but we must not underrate it either. We must look at the facts and consider fundamentals.

This, approximately, was the picture of the Jewish fate and future as it appeared to many of us a few years ago:

The time of the great Jewish migrations had come to an end. A disillusioned, morally unsettled, and economically impoverished world was freezing in once more, after the great movements of a now defunct age. It seemed that intercommunications in world-Jewry would diminish, though the common work of building up the National Home in Palestine would still hold us together for a while, at least the keenest among us; and there, in the Land of Israel, the branch would survive about which Isaiah prophesied, perhaps a branch sounder than any, since our national tree was uprooted from its native soil. The Jews of Western and Central Europe would die out or dwindle into insignificance, and many of us thought that this process, though diversified by vituperation and occasional outbreaks on the part of the coarser among our "hosts", would on the whole take an increasingly peaceful character. The only Jewries which seemed to matter were the 4½ millions in the United States, the 3 millions in Poland, an almost equal number in Soviet Russia, and nearly one million in Roumania.

The future of the American Jews was, and remains, to most of us, a closed book, like that of America herself. Even though their natural increase is high at present—the younger

age-groups among them are still always disproportionately large—they will, within measurable time, become numerically stationary. Culturally, for good and for bad, they will soon have shed every vestige of their East European extraction. What will then replace their fading, anaemic Judaism? How deep and how far will assimilation and amalgamation proceed? Or will they be kept together by anti-Semitic pressure, after their own inner values have disappeared? If so, on what will they live, culturally and morally? Will they at least maintain themselves economically? They now form numerically the largest, and financially (even after the crash of 1929–1933) the most important unit in world-Jewry.

The War and revolutions have wrought the economic ruin of the East European Jews, and it was the unstinted help of American Jewry which alone secured the survival of many hundreds of thousands among them. But that support cannot, and will not, be continued indefinitely, and private help naturally diminishes as the ties, which bound the emigrants of 1882–1914 to relatives in their old homes, weaken with every death on either side of the Atlantic.

In Soviet Russia Jewry faces dissolution. Religion and occupational segregation acted in the Diaspora as barriers to social intercourse, assimilation, and intermarriage. But in Russia the Jewish religion is dying, and the Jewish professions have been destroyed. Herded together in the Pale of Settlement, the Jews were bound to remain a distinct community, for no one can be assimilated to a nation in the abstract, and there were no types within their sphere to which they could have been assimilated. They are now moving out from the Pale, and everywhere tend to engage in the same work as the rest of the population, which is a healthy development, but, if continued for a few generations, may lead to the extinction of Russian Jewry. That economic reorientation which still awaits us in many a country, and which in Palestine our pioneers have voluntarily taken upon themselves for the sake of the national

idea, has been effected in Bolshevik Russia with a suddenness and ruthlessness peculiar to that régime, but also with a certain humanity for which credit is due to it: the Bolsheviks at least feel an obligation to provide manual work for the Jews who apply for it, and do not consider that Jews, because they are Jews, should be deprived of their livelihood without being given a chance of finding another. That the attempts to provide such chances have often been extremely ineffectual, and that very large numbers of Jews in Soviet Russia perished of misery and privations, is part of the gruesome post-War history of the Jews and of Russia.

In other East European countries the same is happening in a slower, but no less deadly, manner. The Jewish petty traders and artizans are being ruined by factories, large stores, co-operatives, etc., and individual Jewish enterprise by the economic activities of the State and of big syndicates; and all along such national organizations cut out the Jews from employment. The burden of unemployment is, by preference, thrown upon them, without a dole. The Jewish population is faced by hopeless pauperization. Emigration has stopped, one country after another having closed its gates; and, in absolute figures, the number of Jews in Eastern Europe is still on the increase. What is to become of them?

In 1932 the problem of Polish Jewry, and also of those of Roumania and Lithuania, seemed the most burning problem; and when the first impact of the Nazi outburst has passed, it will probably once more appear to us in that light. But shall we still see it with the same eyes as in 1932? At that time it seemed to us that our foremost endeavour should be directed towards fighting the "*Luftmensch*"—this untranslatable term describes men without solid ground under their feet, without training or profession, without capital or regular employment, living in the air, and, it would almost seem, on air. For a long time past, their number has been appallingly high in the overcrowded

ghettos of Eastern Europe, and in 1932 we thought that our first task was to change that type of man into a sound earner. But the German experience of 1933 has taught us that a Jew occupying a foremost place in his profession may, overnight, be turned into a *Luftmensch*, by being forbidden to exercise it in the land of his birth, and not allowed to take it up in any other country. Greater than the tragedy of individual Jewish unemployables in Eastern Europe is the *Luftmensch* tragedy of us all, due to the fact that as a nation we have no firm ground under our feet; man cannot live outside a community, but he is truly safe in his own community only—it has to be his own, in the fullest, completest sense. In fact, even the unsound economic character of individual Jews in the past merely reflected the condition of the nation. It was its anomalous position which had made so many of us into traders or into "intellectuals" (another kind of *Luftmenschen*), and had kept us out of the more solid, enduring occupations; while those who entered such occupations, especially those who settled as peasants among peasants, or as squires among squires, soon struck root and mingled with the growth of the soil. They ceased to be Jews, and found an individual solution of the problem. But now at last the problem has to be solved, one way or another, for our people as a whole.

Among European nations, during the best part of the nineteenth century, the upper and middle classes alone were articulate; they moved and worked free from obsolete shackles and as yet not drawn down by the weight of the masses. Fundamentally they thought of themselves as "the nation", even if this limitation was unconscious; and it was primarily on that comparatively narrow basis that individualism developed. The existence of the mute crowd in the background was politely acknowledged, and then passed over; or it was contended that their problems could be solved in the same terms as those of the upper strata.

The solution of the Jewish problem in the terms of the period was individual assimilation. But this was a feasible programme only so long as applied to small, scattered groups, or merely to the upper classes in large Jewish communities; dense masses, living in a world of their own, cannot be effectively "assimilated". Individual Jews rose to wealth, distinction, and social rank, and in most cases, they, or their descendants, ceased to be Jews (as happens also with Dissenters in England). The great masses of the Jewish people remained poor, ill-adjusted to their surroundings, and even to each other, for they did not form an economic, self-sufficing, and self-protecting entity; and they had no one to speak for them except in terms about as well suited to their needs, economic and moral, as Smiles's *Self-Help* was to those of the British working classes.

The rise of Jewish democracy, *i.e.* the entry of the Jewish masses into politics, was bound to result in the rise of a Jewish nationalism, unpleasant and disturbing to the "better-class" Jew who had made his exit from integral Judaism, or was hesitating in the nameless realms of half-sincere compromise. He was high-minded, broad-minded, open-minded, and without roots, for he lacked the live touch with any living community. He wanted to become "assimilated" and yet to remain apart, trying to stop short of what alone could have fully achieved the ideal of assimilation—the complete merging of the Jews in the community in which they lived. His conception of Judaism merely as a religion was curiously superficial and self-contradictory. For that which distinguishes the Jewish religion in its modern form from, say, Christian Unitarianism, is merely the national tradition which most of the adherents of Liberal or Reform Judaism profess to reject. By refraining from complete amalgamation and by maintaining their separate racial and historical identity, of which they deny the existence, they have kept themselves suspended in mid-air—moral *Luftmenschen*, who provoke criticism among their

own people and distrust among the non-Jews. In reality, most of them were perfectly sincere within the limits of their own conscious thinking; they did not avow their insincerity even to themselves. But they forgot that no door can for ever remain half-open.

For centuries we have led an anomalous existence, and "assimilation" to the rest of the world is the only way out of it. Assimilation can, however, bear two opposite, but complementary and equally admissible interpretations. Assimilation to a community means for individual Jews intermarriage and disappearance (as happened in the case of the Huguenots in England, after they had at first tried to maintain the separate existence of their Church and community); while in terms of Israel as a whole it can mean one thing only—national reintegration. Jewish nationalism expresses the desire of the Jewish people to be like unto all nations, to be neither the chosen race of our own past imaginings, nor the pariahs into which others have persistently tried, and still try, to depress us; but a nation, socially and economically complete, with a Mother Country and a Father State of its own, no longer an orphan.

Our chief aim now must be normality. Whether national reintegration is possible also in the Galuth, or only in Palestine, it is too early to say. Die out we may through mixed marriages with non-Jews, or through birth control, and both these tendencies, as is shown by Dr. Ruppin, have been on the increase for some time past. But the question which the Jews must now ask themselves is whether they can, and should, assume the responsibility for bringing Jewish children into the world in the Galuth, to face a fate which seems to become worse every year. It is admitted that parents should not have children for whom they cannot provide economically; but is not the moral basis of existence at least equally important?

The first reaction of some Jews to this contention is that we are a valuable element and ought not to die out, not

even in the Diaspora. Valuable—to whom? And if it is so, who will lose by our dying out? Not we ourselves. There is no loss in non-existence. And the world? Looking back at our history of the last two thousand years we may perhaps be excused for not worrying as to whether the world will lose or gain by our disappearance.

Other Jews will cry out against "surrender" to our enemies. Why pay even so much attention to our enemies? There is no surrender in a determined exit. The people who will miss us most are the anti-Semites; like the Nazis in a small German town who are said to have wired to Hitler to send them some Jews forthwith or the boycott of April 1 would be a failure. There is an infinitely difficult time before us, and the man who has children must consider their safety and future, and is bound by hostages to the world. Practically no Jewish children will be born in Germany after 1933. Should any be born elsewhere in the Galuth? Unless the half-life of those long centuries can be changed at last into an integral national existence, had it not better come to an end? Whatever will there is in us for Jewish survival must now be focussed on the common national future.

The oldest inscription which mentions the Jews by name is a monument by an Egyptian Pharaoh who boasts of having exterminated Israel and left none to survive. We have survived, and our existence has become an obsession to innumerable non-Jews and a burden to most of us. During the first seventeen or eighteen centuries of the Christian era there was the hope of the Messianic miracle which made us indifferent to sufferings and persecution, and gave meaning to our survival in the Exile. We waited for the deliverance of His coming, when all the Jews, even the dead buried in the Galuth, were to have followed Him back to Erez Israel. The hope of the Return lives, and is the only hope which has not failed us; but perhaps His work must be done through the labour of men.

In the age of "enlightenment" the place of the Messianic

creed was taken by a belief in humanity and "progress", in democracy and the rights and brotherhood of man. That creed is gone, or at least survives only in some cultured circles, in its original homelands in Western Europe. But we cannot wait for the humanization of mankind.

When the middle classes on the Continent turned anti-Semite, some Jews pinned their faith on Socialism. Anti-Semitism was a "bourgeois" prejudice—as if at the rise of the middle classes it had not been decried as a feudal or clerical superstition! But there is no reason why an ultra-nationalist, anti-Semitic Communism should not arise. Capitalism, in its individualist outlook and its original demand for economic freedom, was international; Communism, aiming at a nationalized economy, is basically national, and its internationalism will probably disappear like that of the French Revolution. And then woe to him who in a Socialist community will be considered a stranger! He will be what the *déclassé* is in Bolshevik Russia.

A little philanthropy for our poorest brethren, a good dose of self-deception, Zionism remembered on festive occasions (like the religion of some Jews remembered during the High Holidays), and the burden of the Jewish question once more shifted on to the children with a polite assurance that a better future awaits them—this will not do any longer. We have no right to shift it on to another generation. A solution in our time is required. Those now alive and conscious of the facts of our situation have to solve the age-long problem before they have the right to produce a further generation. Only those Jews who can build up for themselves a life as members of their nation, a nation even as all other nations, have a right to survive as Jews into the time to come.

L. B. NAMIER

THE COTTAGE,
BRIDGNORTH,
October 10, 1933

PREFATORY NOTE

Dr. Arthur Ruppin has been the foremost pioneer of Jewish Sociology, and the present work is the result of studies extending over some thirty years. His first book on the subject was published in Germany in 1904, and it has passed through several editions; an English translation of it appeared in 1913 under the title *The Jews of To-day*, and it has also been translated into Hebrew and Italian. Its aim was to supply accurate data as basis for dealing with the complex Jewish question. Dr. Ruppin continued his studies in the *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, a quarterly founded by him in 1905, in which material concerning the Jews, scattered in the statistical publications and papers of various countries, was systematically collected and analysed.

In 1907 Dr. Ruppin settled in Palestine as Director for Colonization of the Zionist Organization. In connexion with this work he had to undertake journeys into various countries which brought him into close contact with all classes of Jews. Since 1926, while maintaining his connexion with the colonization work in Palestine, he has lectured on Jewish sociology in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His lectures, delivered in Hebrew, were published in Berlin as a book called *Die Soziologie der Juden* (2 vols., 1930–1931), and in Hebrew at Tel-Aviv (3 vols., 1931–1933). But even the few years which have elapsed since 1930, have wrought fundamental changes in the position of the Jews, and have given a prominence and importance to the Jewish question such as it has not had for a long time past. The present work includes a survey of these recent developments.

L. B. N.

CHAPTER I

WHO SHOULD BE CALLED A JEW?

THE answer to this question is by no means as simple as it might seem at first. It depends on what is taken as criterion —religion, nationality, or race.

(1) RELIGIOUS JUDAISM

Adopting the criterion of religion, and including all those who were born of parents professing the Jewish religion, and who have not lost or severed their connexion with the Jewish religious community, world-Jewry amounts at present to nearly 16 millions. A person's religion can be easily ascertained where it is officially inquired after at censuses or birth-registrations, and where legal rules govern changes of religion; less easily, where no cognizance is taken of it by the State, *i.e.* where it is not mentioned in official documents, but is treated as a private matter, more or less like membership of an association. There a man's religious affiliations may be open to doubt, and secession from the religious community may be merely implied, *e.g.* in the United States tens of thousands of Jews regularly attend Christian Science services. Similarly in Soviet Russia, many Jews, who have neither formally nor informally left the Jewish religious community, now declare themselves Russians by nationality, though previously they used to register as Jews, and, in most cases, by this change probably mean to sever also their connexion with the Jewish religion; their number is very considerable, and seems to be on the increase. Similarly uncertain are the religious affiliations of Jews wholly indifferent, or even averse, to the Jewish, or

any other, religion, but who have not severed, either formally or implicitly, their inherited connexions. While they do not consider themselves Jews, they are often counted as such by others. It is difficult to determine their number, as they naturally do not form associations, but they are most numerous in Western and Central Europe and among the descendants of European Jews long settled overseas.

Religious indifference among the Jews grows with similar indifference among their non-Jewish neighbours, but it presents a peculiar danger for Jewry. Even if indifferent to religion, the Christian, as a rule, remains nominally a Christian, as adherence to the dominant religion entails no disadvantage; while the Jew, if indifferent, tends to conceal the fact that he is a Jew, even from his own children. For these, and still more for their children, the connexion with Jewry is completely broken, and they freely intermarry with non-Jews, and often do not even know about their Jewish extraction. This is why the hunt after "the Jewish grandmother", officially launched in Germany in 1933, has produced numerous surprises.

Further, there is doubt concerning the religion of some people of non-Jewish extraction who profess the Jewish religion, although it is not certain whether they, or their ancestors, have been duly received into the Jewish community; there are, for instance, in New York City a few thousand Jewish negroes, descended from negroes born in New York or the Southern States. Their rabbis, too, are negroes. Their service, which is of a rather noisy character, is held in a language compounded of Yiddish, English, and of some Hebrew words. Their attachment to Judaism is neither deep nor permanent.[1]

Lastly, there are a few groups whose proper reception into the Jewish religion is not open to doubt, but who, in

[1] I am indebted to Dr. M. Fishberg of New York for this information.

their history, origin, and race, have no connexion with the ancient Hebrews:

(*a*) The *Falashas* of Abyssinia, comprising about thirty thousand, are negroes by race and were converted to Judaism either in Egypt, in the pre-Christian era, or in the sixth century A.D. They have the Old Testament in the Gheez language, but do not know the Talmud and do not understand Hebrew.

(*b*) *The Black Jews of Cochin* (on the Malabar coast). They number about 1500, and in colour and other racial characteristics resemble the low Indian castes. Within the same district there are about one hundred brown Jews who do not, however, intermarry with the black, but claim superior caste ("Meyouhasim").[1] The ancestors of the brown Jews probably came from Yemen or Persia in the Middle Ages, and, certainly in the first generations, married Indian women. The black Jews are the offspring either of Indian slaves owned by Jews, or of more recent marriages, or illicit intercourse, between brown Jews and Indian women.

(*c*) The *Gerim* or Subbotniki (Sabbatarians). In origin they go back to a religious reform movement in the Russian Orthodox Church, which arose in the second half of the fifteenth century, with Novgorod and Moscow for its centres. Their religion stands midway between Judaism and Christianity; they place the Old above the New Testament, and observe the Saturday instead of the Sunday. In spite of bloody persecutions by the Church, they have survived in Central Russia, and, through deportations, have even spread to the Caucasus and Siberia. It is difficult to gauge their number, but it is supposed to amount to about fifty thousand. In recent times a few hundred Gerim emigrated to Palestine, where they mainly inhabit the Galilean Colonies.

[1] I am indebted for this information to Mr. A. B. Salem of Cochin, himself a Meyouhas.

(2) The Jewish National Community

The Jews who consider themselves part of the Jewish people are less numerous than those professing the Jewish religion, many of the latter having drifted away from their national community. Since the days of the Jewish State in Palestine till the eighteenth century, that community existed wherever there were Jews, and it subsists to this day in Eastern Europe and the Near East. But in other countries, and to a lesser extent even in Eastern Europe and in the Near East, numbers of Jews have left, or are leaving, their own community for those of the non-Jews. Such change is not effected by a single, ascertainable, spontaneous act, but by a slow spiritual transformation. Normally everyone belongs to the community with which he feels closest united in language, culture, customs, and habits. By growing up in different cultural surroundings, he may become connected with a national community other than that of his parents. This change receives official expression in countries where the nationality of the inhabitants—in the linguistic, cultural, or racial sense of the word—is inquired after and registered at the census. In some countries, *e.g.* Soviet Russia, every inhabitant has to declare his nationality, which is entered accordingly; in other countries, *e.g.* Poland, the language spoken at home, which is the most important mark of nationality, is noted and adopted as criterion—the Yiddish-speaking Jew thus counts as a Jew, the Polish-speaking Jew as a Pole.[1] Some countries (*e.g.* Hungary and Austria) do not recognize the existence of a Jewish nationality or of a Jewish language, but, for statistical purposes, register the Jews, even if Yiddish is their language, as members of the dominant nationality.

[1] In the statistical returns of certain countries the Jew *qua* member of his religious community is described by the words *Israélite, Mosaic, Judeiski*, but *qua* member of a national group, as *Juif, Hebrew, Yewreiski*. In other countries the same word (*Juif, Jude, Hebrew*) is used for both categories.

The Jews, since their emancipation, have given up their own language or dialect, and adopted the language of their neighbours in all the countries of Western and Central Europe, and to some extent also in Eastern Europe and the Near East; similarly the Jewish immigrants in overseas countries. The number of those counted as Jews by nationality, either because they register as such, or because they speak Yiddish (or Spanish in the Near East), now amounts to about 8 millions—4½ in Eastern Europe, 2 in the Balkans (chiefly in Roumania) and the Near East, and 1½ in the United States and other overseas countries. But not all the remaining 8 millions professing the Jewish religion are full members of non-Jewish national groups. More than half of them are still in a state of transition, uneasily balanced between the community of the Jewish people and that of the country which they inhabit. A growth of anti-Semitism intensifies their Jewish consciousness, while a decline strengthens their local associations at the expense of their Jewish connexion. Complete dissociation from Jewry and assimilation to another national group occurs only where Jews have, for generations, been separated from Jewish tradition and culture, and where they enjoy full legal and social equality.

A distinct language is important, but not indispensable in the formation of a national community. In some Mohammedan countries (Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli, Iraq, Persia, etc.) the Jews speak the vernacular—Arabic or Persian—but, differing in religion, historic antecedents, tradition, and literature, they are considered a separate nationality; though, in fact, as the cultural life of those countries is dominated by religion, that difference alone would suffice to separate them from their neighbours.[1]

[1] There is in London an "Association of Christian Hebrews" composed of converted Jews who have become Christian missionaries. In spite of their conversion, they assert their unbroken unity with the Jewish people. In 1933 they acquired land in Southern Palestine with a view to settling there baptized Jews in agriculture.

(3) Race

(a) *The Racial Structure of the Jews*

With regard to race, no clear line can be drawn between the Jews and the non-Jews. There are no racial characteristics peculiar to the Jews only. In various proportions the racial components of Jewry enter also into the racial composition of other European and Asiatic nations. With some, *e.g.* the Armenians, racial characteristics which in Northern and Central Europe are considered "typically Jewish", are even more marked than with the Jews. Not only in the Near East, the cradle of the Jewish race, but everywhere in Southern Europe, and even far into Central Europe, it is by no means easy to distinguish the Jews by their racial characteristics. In Northern Europe only (the Scandinavian and Baltic countries, Northern Germany, Holland, and England), where the population is predominantly of Nordic extraction—tall, blue-eyed, fair-haired, of light complexion, with long skulls and limbs—is it easier to distinguish the Jews from the non-Jews.

Anthropologists usually divide mankind into the white, the yellow, and the black races, and the white race into three subdivisions, the Nordic, the Alpine (mainly in Central Europe and the Near East), and the Mediterranean races; certain anthropologists further subdivide the Mediterranean race into an Eastern and a Western branch. The Jews present a mixture of the Alpine and Mediterranean races, having sprung from a crossing of two nations in Palestine. The Bedouins, who entered it from Arabia, were of Mediterranean race, and were marked as such by their long skulls, dark hair and complexion, their medium height and comparatively long limbs; while people of an Alpine race—small, short-set, of dark hair and complexion, and with short skulls—entered Palestine from Syria and Asia Minor, which formed, with Palestine, one economic and cultural unit. Also in later history these two strains, present in the Jews from

the outset but differently blended in individuals, supplied the main further components of the racial fabric of the Jewish people. Through the absorption of the Philistines and the Edomites of Southern Palestine, fresh Mediterranean blood was added to the Jewish race, while through the connexion with Babylon, inhabited by tribes of Alpine race, and through the Arameans, who entered Palestine from Syria, further Alpine blood was added during the last thousand years B.C.

This process was continued in the Diaspora. The Jews who, after the conquest of Northern Africa and Southern Europe by the Arabs in the seventh and eighth centuries, entered these countries from Palestine, received an admixture of Arab blood—through marriages or illicit intercourse—which strengthened the Mediterranean component in the race. The Jews who migrated from Palestine to Syria, Asia Minor, Byzantium, and Eastern Europe, came into touch with the Tartar (Mongol) Khazars, whose ruling class embraced Judaism, and with Slav tribes who were a mixture of Alpine and Mongol races; the Alpine strain was reinforced, and a small admixture of Mongol blood was added.

Similarly in the last thousand years, in which the Jews spread throughout Europe, they did not remain free from racial admixtures. Although mixed marriages between Jews and Christians, which at first used to occur, were subsequently strictly prohibited, racial mixture between people inhabiting the same localities could not be altogether prevented, especially as outrages on Jewish women were not rare in times of violent persecutions. Since the emancipation of the Jews mixed marriages with Christians have become frequent, and also the numbers of illegitimate children of Jewish women by non-Jewish fathers have increased.

(b) *Principal Types*

With regard to race, three principal types can be distinguished among the Jews of to-day. The first consists of

Jews whose racial composition has remained essentially unchanged since ancient times—these still inhabit their original homes in the Near East (Babylon, Persia, and the inland regions of Syria and Asia Minor), and are described as *Oriental* Jews. The second type consists of Jews in whom the Mediterranean component has been strengthened by intermixture with Arabs and South-Europeans. Foremost among them are the Jews who settled in Spain in the Mohammedan period and who subsequently, under the Christian rulers, adopted the Spanish language. Spain is called in Hebrew "Sephard", and these Jews are therefore called *Sephardic*. The third principal type is composed of the Jews in whom, during their migrations from Palestine or Babylon to the Balkans and Eastern Europe, the Alpine component was strengthened by intermixture with the Near Eastern and Slav races. Moreover, especially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, these have received a small infusion of Nordic blood. Their main representatives are the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe, who, since the Middle Ages, have spoken German or Yiddish, which is derived from German. They are called *Ashkenazic* Jews (in Hebrew, Ashkenazi means German).

Differences in the rates of their natural increase have changed the relative strength of these three principal groups in the Diaspora. The Oriental Jews, who till the twelfth century formed the greater part of Jewry, since then have not increased in number, but rather diminished, and form to-day only 2–3 per cent of Jewry. Similarly the Sephardic Jews, who until the fifteenth century numerically exceeded the Ashkenazim, became stationary, or have even declined, and at present form only 5 per cent of Jewry. On the other hand, the Ashkenazic Jews have increased enormously, and number at present nearly 15 millions, forming 92 per cent of world-Jewry.

The following are a few small sects which have separated from the main body of Jewry in historic times, but have

refrained from mixing with other nations, marrying only among themselves. They have, therefore, preserved their original racial characteristics: These groups include:

(1) The *Samaritans* descended from the Israelite tribes, who were spared at the conquest of Samaria in 722 B.C., and who as early as the fifth or fourth century B.C. formed a separate sect in Palestine, with its religious centre on Mount Garizim, near Sichem, not in Jerusalem. They still live, a remainder composed of some 200 persons, at Nablus (Sichem) in Palestine; they are counted among the Oriental Jews.

(2) The *Karaites* separated from the other Jews in the eighth century A.D., because they accept the Bible only, rejecting the oral tradition of the Talmud. Their origin and first centre was in Syria, but from there they spread to Asia Minor and to the coasts of the Black Sea. When, in the ninth century, the Khazars embraced Judaism, many of them became Karaites, and the land of the Khazars, the Crimea, remained for centuries the Karaite centre. They spread, however, also to the Ukraine, Poland, and Lithuania. In time their numbers suffered a severe decline. In Soviet Russia, at the census of 1926, 8324 Karaites were enumerated, being treated not as a religious community, but as an ethnic group or nationality. Another few thousand inhabit Turkey, especially Constantinople, and a few hundred live in Galicia (in the town of Halicz), in Poland, and Lithuania.[1]

(3) The *Marranos* are descended from Spanish or Portuguese Jews, who, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to escape expulsion accepted baptism, but have retained the memory of their Jewish origin, and have secretly continued

[1] Not identical with the Karaites are the so-called "Crimtchaks", Jews long settled in the Crimea. They have probably come from Italy and elsewhere, at the time when the Crimea was under Genoa. They number about 6000, speak Tartar, and live mainly at Bakhtchisarai, the old residence of the Tartar Khans.

to observe certain Jewish customs. Especially in the Balearic Islands, they intermarried only among themselves, and have remained to this day a separate group of a few hundred families, anthropologically resembling the Sephardic Jews. Besides these there are a few thousand Marrano families in Portugal, chiefly in the towns of Braganza, Belmonte, Oporto, and Covilha. With the help of a Pro-Marrano Committee, founded in London in 1926, a Jewish synagogue was opened at Oporto in 1927, which is now frequented by Jews and some Marranos re-converted to Judaism.

(4) Mostly in Salonica and Constantinople, there survive to this day a few thousand adherents of the sect of *Doenmet* (in Turkish, "unbelievers"—they themselves use the name of "Maaminim", *i.e.* "believers"), founded in the seventeenth century by Sabbatai Zwi among the Sephardic Jews of Turkey. They are Mohammedans and frequent the mosques, but, until recently, intermarried only among themselves. It is alleged that in secret they observe some Jewish rites, but not the Sabbath.

(c) *Isolated Racial Groups*

There are some groups of Jews who, owing to peculiar historical developments, remained separate from the principal types, and differ from them in racial character.

There are some 30,000–40,000 *Yemenite* Jews, mainly descended from Arab tribes which, in the sixth century of the Christian era, had their own State in Yemen, and embraced Judaism. To this day they resemble the Arabs, *i.e.* are of the Mediterranean race. The Alpine component is lacking in them.

The *Bene Israel*, numbering about 10,000 and resident in and round Bombay, resemble the Yemenite Jews. They are probably descended from Jews who had entered India from Yemen (Aden) and Persia, before the Europeans had reached it by sea.

The Jews of the *Caucasus* (about 70,000) are descended from Caucasian tribes of the Alpine race. They were converted to Judaism in ancient times, but have been little in touch with the main bodies of Jewry, and therefore to this day represent the Alpine racial element, without Mediterranean admixture.

Among the *Bokhara* Jews, who have come to Bokhara from Mesopotamia and Persia,[1] a variant of the Alpine type is frequent, resembling the old Assyrian kings—tall, with broad shoulders, powerful necks, big and broad noses. They are probably descended from a conquering tribe (the Kassites?) which settled in Persia and Bokhara. The type occurs also among the Mesopotamian and Persian Jews, and, sporadically, even among the Ashkenazic Jews of Europe.

(d) *Alien Types*

Not all Jews can be fitted into the main racial types or the isolated groups. Infusion of foreign blood produces among the Jews individuals of a Nordic or a Mongol, and occasionally even of a negroid, type. (These—with frizzled hair, thick lips, and flat noses—are possibly descended from North-African Moorish slaves, with an admixture of negro blood, who, in the Middle Ages, having adopted Judaism, were received into Jewish families.) Types alien to the Jews were not to be found among the Jews before the Middle Ages, and even now do not occur in groups, but sporadically. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century their number has, however, increased considerably in countries where mixed marriages and illicit intercourse are common between Jews and non-Jews. In Central and Western Europe, by now they probably form one-fourth of all the Jews; in Eastern Europe they are less numerous.

[1] A few hundred of them have emigrated to Jerusalem during the last thirty years.

(e) *Racial Purity*

The racial purity of a nation is often commended in anthropological literature without the sense of the term being clearly defined. In relation to the individual, it means that he reproduces the marks ascribed by anthropologists to his race. In relation to groups, *e.g.* to a nation, it may mean one of two things: either that it consists exclusively of individuals of pure race in the individual sense—*i.e.* that there is a unity of race; or that it consists of individuals who, while not of pure race, closely resemble each other so as to represent a racial type, even though this is the product of cross-breeding between various races. In this sense the term of "unity of type" had better be substituted for "racial purity".

There are "racially pure" individuals, though they form a small minority; but except for a few primitive, isolated groups, there are no nations of pure race. Even unity of type exists only among very few civilized nations.

Nor can the Jews be described as of pure race. Even in ancient times, they were the product of an intercrossing of races, and they have since received further admixtures of racially alien elements. On the other hand, isolated for centuries within certain areas, through in-breeding they have produced within each area a comparatively uniform type—that of the Oriental Jew in Babylon during the first centuries of the Christian era, of the Sephardic Jew in Spain and Northern Africa between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries, and that of the Ashkenazic Jew in Eastern Europe between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. But having been evolved, these racial types have not remained in permanent isolation. Thus the Sephardic Jews, expelled from Spain, have mixed with the Oriental Jews in Turkey, and with the Ashkenazic Jews in Bohemia, Southern Germany, Holland, and Hamburg. To this day a Jewish type occurs in Southern Germany approaching that of the Sephardim,

and differing from the Ashkenazim of Northern and Eastern Germany.

In not being of pure race, the Jews share the fate of all nations with a history. The English, as well as the Germans and the French, to say nothing of the Americans, represent a mixture of many different racial elements. Travelling in Germany from North to South, one is struck by the obvious transition from regions inhabited by North-European types —tall, fair-haired, blue-eyed, with long skulls—to those of the Alpine types—dark-haired, short-set, with round skulls. The blond type predominates in certain parts of Northern Germany, recedes in Central Germany, and is swamped in the South by the dark Alpine type, which, by weight of numbers, would have to be described as the dominant German type. The difference between these "Alpine" Germans and the Nordics is perhaps greater than that which separates them from the Ashkenazic Jews, in whom, likewise, the Alpine component predominates.

Anthropologists use certain physical characteristics to distinguish between various human races—colour, skull-index, height, hair, the eyes, etc.—and these distinctions are useful in that they systematize a confusing multiplicity of phenomena. Still, the system is based on human conceptions and not on divisions of nature, and there is nothing to prove that, *e.g.* the skull-index (to which anthropologists attached in the past, and some still attach, very great importance) is a better indication of kinship or affinity between two human groups than any one among many thousand other physical characteristics. "Races" would be firmly grounded in nature only if they corresponded to "closed genetic groups", *i.e.* if members of any one race could not interbreed with those of other races, as is the case between various animal species. But for genetic purposes, all human races form one species capable of interbreeding, and therefore not distinguishable or strictly divisible in accordance with any physical characteristics.

(f) *Mental Characteristics*

The usual racial classification based on physical characteristics being of limited value, it might be asked whether a better classification could not perhaps be based on certain mental peculiarities; for history points to considerable differences between groups and nations both with regard to their physical and their mental and emotional qualities. Within the white race nations differ widely with regard to certain qualities such as aptitude for war, musical gifts, logical thinking, etc. Many anthropologists assert that among the Jews there is more mental than physical uniformity, and that it is a peculiar mentality which distinguishes them from the other European nations. It cannot be a mere accident that, throughout the Diaspora, the Jews have been mainly engaged in commerce, in which they could not have successfully maintained their position for thousands of years without excelling their neighbours in the necessary qualities—by being more imaginative, resourceful, and active. They have not, however, that superiority as against other Oriental nations, such as the Armenians and Syrians, who, in commerce, are equal, or even superior, to the Jews. To European eyes the Jews appear as the specific representatives of those qualities merely because they are the only Oriental nation which has spread throughout Europe, and which, owing to the difference in religion, has preserved a separate existence.[1]

Also India and China have long had their merchant class, equal in skill to those of the Near East, while uncivilized or little civilized nations, such as the Negroes, or the Red Indians, show little capacity for trade. It seems that commercial abilities are not a racial peculiarity of certain

[1] The Cahorsians, who were the most dangerous competitors of the Jews in medieval commerce, came from the town of Cahors in Southern France, which, in all probability, was a colony of the Syrians or Phoenicians, *i.e.* of a people closely related to the Jews.

nations, but are much rather the product of a long cultural development, attainable in time by every civilized people. The Christian nations of Europe, which, till the time of the Crusades, could not compete in commerce with the Jews, gradually developed their own merchant classes; and now in certain countries the Jews even find it difficult to hold their own against the non-Jewish business men, *e.g.* in Great Britain, Holland, and the United States.

Commercial abilities are not of a specific kind, but are only one aspect of the capacity for quick thinking and the gift of combination, which is important in commerce, but is equally valuable in scientific work, discoveries, and even in politics. In the intellectual life of the Jews, this capacity has led to the overtowering importance of the Talmud, the study of which requires quick and sharp dialectic thinking; in turn, the fact that Talmudic scholars were sought for as sons-in-law by rich families and had therefore a better chance of bringing up their children, tended to improve these abilities in the Jews. The development of quick and sharp thinking is part of the general tendency of civilization to rationalize human action, while repressing the instincts which govern the life of primitive races. On the other hand, the Jews are inferior in certain other abilities, such as power of observation, the art of commanding men, skill in administration, etc.

Such superiority, or inferiority, is not, however, inherent or permanent, but can be emphasized or reduced by a change in social circumstances. The fact that in every sphere of culture the Jews are now represented by men in the first rank, seems to indicate that they are not devoid of any capacity possessed by other nations of the white race, while these, in turn, possess potentially all the mental capacities of the Jews. How could the Jewish cultural inheritance have become the corner-stone for the culture of most white races, were there a deep, fundamental difference in mentality between them and the Jews? This does not,

however, imply that all faculties are equally developed with the Jews and the non-Jews; many remain for ever latent. Inheritance determines what a man can, circumstances what he does, become; and, over longer periods, the same is true of nations.

Differences increase with the number of generations which have lived under different conditions. An animal-breeder cannot change the peculiarities of an individual animal, but working on several generations, he can select individuals possessing the requisite peculiarities, and in time he will obtain a new species. With men, circumstances and the struggle for existence play, to some extent, the part of the breeder; and though such social selection cannot work as quickly as the deliberate choice of the breeder, in the course of a few generations, without any infusion of alien blood, a group or nation can change its mental character.

The differences in mentality between Jews and non-Jews are therefore neither fundamental nor constant. Life under similar conditions will reduce or extinguish them in the course of a few generations—in Western Europe they have already diminished in the last century. National characteristics are variable, not fixed and unchangeable. Should the present state of an urban, capitalist, industrialized, and mechanized society continue, mental tendencies now considered Jewish—quickness in thinking, rationalism, repression of instincts—may extend to other nations; it would mean that the Jews had been merely forerunners in a common development. But as the difference between old and young, although of a passing nature, is very real, so is the difference between the Jews and the other nations; it affects the social conditions of the Jews, and their relations with their neighbours. Still, it is very doubtful whether even these mental differences are sufficient to constitute a Jewish race.

II. NUMBERS, DISTRIBUTION, MIGRATIONS, AND NATURAL INCREASE

CHAPTER II

NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE JEWS

(1) Numbers

Statistical data concerning the Jews in ancient and medieval times are very scanty. In 70 A.D., at the time of the destruction of the Jewish State, their number is estimated at 4½ millions. It decreased during the following centuries, reaching the lowest point with 1½ million at the end of the fifteenth century, the time of the expulsion and mass-conversion of the Spanish Jews. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the figure remained about stationary. In the eighteenth century it rose gradually to 2½ millions, increased rapidly in the nineteenth to 10½ millions, and now (Nov. 1933) has reached nearly 16 millions, which makes 0·8 per cent of the world's population, estimated at 2,000,000,000. Omitting India, the Far East, and the interior of Africa, where there are practically no Jews, and considering only the parts of the world which are predominantly European in race and culture, the Jews form 1·6 per cent of their total population of 1,000,000,000. This percentage is higher than in 1800, when 2½ million Jews formed 0·4 per cent of the world population, and 0·8 per cent of the 600,000,000 of white race. On the other hand, it is considerably lower than it was at the census undertaken by the Emperor Augustus (14 A.D.), when the Roman Empire, which at that time comprised practically the entire civilized world of the white race, had a population of 54 millions, of which 4½ million Jews formed 8·3 per cent; *i.e.* among the white races the Jews were then one in twelve, and are now only one in sixty-three.

(2) Distribution

Even in the sixth century B.C. the Jews were no longer limited to Palestine, but had spread into Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Syria. In 70 A.D., only one million still inhabited Palestine, as against $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions scattered mainly in the Near East and North Africa (Egypt, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Persia, Cyrenaica), and also Italy and Byzantium.

In the first one thousand years of the Christian Era, the Jews advanced from Northern Africa and Italy into Spain, Gaul, and Germany, and from Palestine and the Near East, by way of Byzantium, into the Balkan Peninsula and the Slav countries. But their centre, comprising the majority of the Jewish population, remained till about 1000 A.D. in the Near East. It is only in the eleventh century, with the concentration of the Jews in Spain, and the passing of the cultural predominance from the Babylonic to the Spanish Jews, that also numerically Europe gains in importance; at the time of the expulsion from Spain (1492) the $1\frac{1}{2}$ million, which constituted world-Jewry, were about equally divided between the Near East and Europe, and this numerical distribution remained more or less unchanged till the end of the seventeenth century. When in the eighteenth century the stronger natural increase of the Jews in Europe turned the balance in its favour, the Jews changed from an Oriental into a predominantly European nation.

The centre of gravity of European Jewry moved to Eastern Europe. In great masses they only came there when, after the Crusades, their position in Western and Central Europe had deteriorated, and they had been expelled from many countries. The Polish kings gladly received them, and granted them wide national autonomy and economic privileges. The Kingdom of Poland became the cultural and numerical centre of European Jewry.

After the Partitions of Poland (1772–1795) these Jews came under Russian, Austrian, and Prussian dominion. This was, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the approximate distribution of the Jews:

In the Near East (including Turkey) . .	1,000,000
„ Russian Poland and Western Russia . .	800,000
„ Austria (including Galicia)	300,000
„ Bohemia and Moravia	70,000
„ Hungary	100,000
„ Prussia	100,000
„ France (including Alsace)	80,000
„ Holland	50,000
	2,500,000

The total number of world-Jewry thus amounted to about 2,500,000, and of these 40 per cent inhabited the Near East, 44 per cent Eastern, and 16 per cent Central and Western Europe; their number in Great Britain, Italy, Denmark, and the overseas countries was insignificant.

Between 1800 and 1880, owing to an improvement in economic conditions and a decrease in infantile mortality, the numerical predominance of Eastern Europe was accentuated, while the percentage which the Oriental Jews formed in world-Jewry sank rapidly. Also in Central and Western Europe the natural increase of the Jews became more marked, but about 1850 a strong emigration to America, and about 1870 a decline in the birth-rate set in. About 1850 the total number of Jews in the world amounted to 4,750,000, of whom 72 per cent inhabited Eastern Europe, 14·5 per cent Central and Western Europe, 1·5 per cent America, while only 12 per cent the Near East. By 1880 the total number had grown to about 7,750,000, and East European Jewry reached its peak with almost 75 per cent of the total; the proportion formed by the Jewries of Western and Central Europe had sunk slightly to 13·5 per cent, that of America and other overseas countries

had risen to 3½ per cent, while the proportion of the Near East had dropped from 12 to 8 per cent.

Since 1880 a great change has occurred in the distribution of the Jews owing to their mass migration from Eastern Europe to Western and Central Europe, to the United States, and to other overseas countries (Canada, the Argentine, South Africa, etc.), and to Palestine. Between 1881 and 1933 approximately 4,000,000 Jews have left Eastern Europe, including 150,000 who have gone to Palestine, and the percentage which East European Jewry forms of the total, sank approximately from 75 to 46 per cent; while the percentage formed by the Near East dropped from 8 to 5·7. The proportion inhabiting Western and Central Europe remained practically unchanged as against 1880 (13·5 per cent). But the United States and other overseas countries, which in 1880 comprised only 3·5 of world-Jewry, now comprise about 30 per cent. At the end of the eighteenth century the Jews changed from a predominantly Oriental into a European, or rather East European, nation; and now they tend to change from East Europeans into West Europeans and Americans.

Table I summarizes the results of the latest censuses, and where the number of Jews is not shown in the census returns, the best available estimates of the number of individuals professing the Jewish religion are quoted.[1] In the last column the estimated figures for 1933 are given.

[1] The religion of the inhabitants is stated in the censuses of practically all East and Central European countries, though in some of them this has been discontinued since the War. In most countries of Western and Southern Europe (Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Greece), in the United States of America, in the Central and South American Republics, and in the Far East, the religion of the inhabitants is not asked for at the census. The estimates of the numbers of Jews on which we have to rely, are based mainly on the lists of ratepayers of the Jewish communities, on private censuses, on the numbers of Jewish funerals, the number of Jewish school children, etc.

It appears from this table that the four States with the largest Jewries (the United States, Poland, Russia, and Roumania) have a joint Jewish population of 11,200,000, making about 70 per cent of world-Jewry.

(3) Percentage of Jews in the Total Population

In East European countries and Palestine the Jews form between 5 and 17 per cent of the population; in most countries of Central Europe, the Balkans, and the Near East, and further, in the United States, the Argentine, Canada, and South Africa, they form between 1 and 5 per cent; in Western and Northern Europe, and in other overseas countries, their proportion falls below 1 per cent; and there are practically no Jews in Central Asia, India, the Far East, and in the interior of Africa.

Within single countries the percentage of Jews varies considerably. In the Union of Soviet Republics the Jews form 8·2 per cent in White Russia, 5·4 in the Ukraine, 0·6 in Central, and 0·8 per cent in Asiatic Russia. In the Ukraine itself the percentage varies as between different districts from 0·2 to 19·7 (in Odessa). The Jews are most numerous in parts comprising big towns and industrial areas, and least numerous in the purely agrarian districts.

In Poland the percentage of Jews is highest in late Russian Poland (14·2) and lowest in the late Prussian provinces of Posnania and West Prussia (0·5 and 0·3). The largest part of the original Jewish population of those provinces had emigrated by 1919, and so far comparatively few Jews have entered them from other parts of Poland.

In the United States, 9 out of the 49 States of the Union comprised in 1927 83·5 per cent of the Jewish population—3,532,000 out of a total of 4,228,000; these were the States of the Northern and Central Atlantic sea-board (New York,

TABLE I

Number and Percentage of Jews in Various States

State.	Total Population.	Year.	Number of Jews.	Year.	Percentage of the Total Population.	Estimated Number of Jews in Jan. 1933.
I. *Europe*—						
1. Poland . .	32,132,936	1931	2,829,456	1921	10·4	3,050,000[1]
2. Russia:						
(*a*) Ukraine .	29,018,187	1926	1,574,428	1926	5·4	1,650,000
(*b*) WhiteRussia	4,983,240	1926	407,059	1926	8·2	400,000
(*c*) Central „ (RSFSR)	82,045,623	1926	588,843	1926	0·7	700,000
	116,047,050		2,570,330			2,750,000
3. Roumania .	18,057,074	1930	834,344	1919	4·8	900,000
4. Germany . .	62,410,619	1925	564,379	1925	0·9	550,000[2]
5. Hungary . .	8,683,740	1930	473,310	1920	5·9	500,000
6. Czechoslovakia .	14,726,158	1930	356,830	1930	2·4	360,000
7. Great Britain and North Ireland	46,189,445	1931	320,000*	1931	0·7	330,000
8. Austria . .	6,534,481	1923	230,000*	1923	3·5	230,000
9. France . .	41,834,923	1931	200,000*	1931	0·5	200,000
10. Lithuania (without Memel) .	2,028,971	1923	155,126	1923	7·6	160,000
11. Netherlands .	7,920,388	1930	115,233	1920	1·7	120,000
12. Latvia . .	1,900,045	1930	93,741	1930	4·9	95,000
13. Greece . .	6,204,684	1928	80,000*	1928	1·3	80,000
14. Yugoslavia .	13,930,918	1931	64,221	1921	0·5	70,000
15. Belgium . .	8,092,004	1930	60,000*	1930	0·7	60,000
16. Italy . .	41,230,047	1931	54,121*	1931	0·1	55,000
17. Turkey . .	1,040,669	1927	53,133	1927	5·1	55,000
18. Bulgaria . .	5,478,741	1926	46,431	1926	0·8	50,000
19. Switzerland .	4,066,400	1930	18,478	1930	0·4	19,000
20. Danzig . .	407,517	1929	9,239	1924	2·4	9,000
21. Sweden . .	6,141,571	1930	6,474	1920	0·1	7,000
22. Denmark . .	3,550,656	1930	5,947	1921	0·2	6,000
23. Esthonia . .	1,107,059	1922	4,639	1922	0·4	5,000
24. Saar Valley .	770,030	1927	4,554	1927	0·6	5,000
25. Irish Free State	2,971,992	1926	4,000*	1926	0·1	5,000
26. Spain . .	21,389,842	1920	4,000*	1920	0·02	4,000
27. The Isle of Rhodos. .	70,000	1930	3,000*	1930	7·5	3,000
28. Memel . .	141,645	1925	3,000*	1925	2·1	3,000
29. Portugal . .	6,654,815	1930	2,000*	1930	0·03	2,000
30. Norway . .	2,814,194	1930	2,000*	1930	0·07	2,000
31. Luxemburg .	299,993	1930	1,771	1927	0·6	2,000
32. Finland . .	3,667,067*	1930	1,765	1930	0·05	2,000
33. Gibraltar . .	21,372	1931	1,000*	1931	4·7	1,000
						9,690,000
II. *America*—						
1. United States .	122,745,046	1930	4,228,000*	1924	3·5	4,500,000
2. Argentine . .	11,658,000*	1932	220,000*	1930	2·1	240,000
3. Canada . .	10,374,196	1931	155,592	1931	1·5	170,000
4. Brazil . .	40,273,000*	1930	40,000*	1930	0·1	45,000
5. Mexico . .	16,404,030	1930	12,000*	1930	0.1	12,000

[1] So far the number of Jews in Poland at the census of 1931 is not known. It is possible that at that of 1921 many Jews were omitted, and that the estimate formed on that basis for 1933 will prove too low. The same applies to Roumania.

[2] Between January and September 1933, about 50,000 Jews left Germany.

TABLE I—*Continued*

State.	Total Population.	Year.	Number of Jews.	Year.	Percentage of the Total Population.	Estimated Number of Jews in Jan. 1933.
6. Uruguay	1,903,083*	1931	10,000*	1931	0·5	12,000
7. Cuba	3,607,919*	1930	9,000*	1930	0·3	9,500
8. Chile	4,287,445	1930	4,000*	1930	0·1	4,000
9. British Guiana	310,000*	1930	2,000*	1930	0·6	2,000
10. Dutch Surinam and Curacao	229,000*	1931	1,250*	1930	0·5	1,500
11. Jamaica	974,742	1929	1,250	1929	0·1	1,500
12. Rest of America			2,500			2,500
						5,000,000
III. *Asia*—						
1. Palestine	1,035,154	1931	175,006	1931	16·9	200,000[3]
2. Asiatic Russia	30,980,865	1926	109,851	1926	0·4	120,000
3. Iraq	3,300,000*	1932	100,000*	1932	3·0	100,000
4. Persia	9,000,000*	1929	40,000*	1929	0·4	40,000
5. Syria	2,687,280	1929	25,000*	1929	0·9	25,000
6. Yemen	1,000,000*	1930	30,000*	1930	3·0	30,000
7. Asiatic Turkey	12,607,601	1927	28,739	1927	0·2	30,000
8. India	352,837,778	1931	30,000*[4]	1931	0·0	30,000
9. Afghanistan	12,000,000*	1924	20,000*	1924	0·2	20,000
10. China and Manchuria	474,000,000*	1930	15,000*	1930	0·0	20,000
11. Japan	91,723,012	1930	1,000*	1930	0·0	1,000
12. Straits Settlement	1,114,012	1931	1,000*	1931	0·0	1,000
13. Cochin-China	21,452,000	1931	1,000*	1931	0·0	1,000
						618,000
IV. *Africa*—						
1. Morocco:						
(*a*) French Morocco	5,057,000	1931	120,000[5]	1931	1·4	120,000
(*b*) Spanish Morocco and Tangier	1,100,000*	1931	20,000*	1931	1·8	20,000
2. Algiers	6,553,451	1931	90,000[6]	1931	1·4	90,000
3. British South Africa	8,013,000	1930	71,816	1926	0·9	80,000
4. Tunis	2,410,692	1931	66,000[7]	1931	2·7	66,000
5. Egypt	14,177,864	1927	63,550	1927	0·4	65,000
6. Tripoli	705,187	1931	43,000*	1931	6·1	43,000
7. Rhodesia	2,417,000	1931	3,000*	1931	0·1	3,000
						487,000
V. *Australia*—						
1. Australia	6,476,032	1930	21,615	1921	0·4	30,000
2. New Zealand	1,344,469	1926	2,380	1921	0·2	3,000
						33,000
			Total of Jews in the entire World			15,846,000

[3] In the course of 1933, the number of Jews in Palestine rose to 230,000.

[4] Including some 4000 Jews at Aden.

[5] In 1931 there were in the French part of Morocco 107,603 native Jews to which an estimated number of 12,000 foreign Jews is added.

[6] In 1921 there were in Algiers 73,967 Jews, not counting foreign Jews and Jews inhabiting the oasis of Mzab.

[7] In 1931 the number of native Jews in Tunis amounted to 56,248, to which some 10,000 foreign Jews have to be added.

Note.—An * signifies that the number is not obtained from a census but merely by an estimate. These estimates are formed on the basis of the *American Jewish Year Book* (Philadelphia, 1932), the *Statesman's Year Book* (London, 1932), and *Die internationalen Übersichten im Statist. Jahrbuch des Deutschen Reiches* (Berlin, 1932). The estimate for the Jews in Italy is based on a study by Professor Rudolf Bach in Rome for 1931; the estimates for Iraq and Syria, on the author's own investigations.

New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Maryland), Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio, and they comprised most of the great American cities (New York City, Buffalo, Detroit, Boston, Newark, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Baltimore, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Chicago). In New York State the Jews formed 16·7 per cent of the population, while New York City alone had a Jewish population of about 2 millions, making about one-third of its inhabitants. In further 34 States the Jews formed 0·4 to 4·0 per cent of the population, and in 14 States 0·2 to 0·4.

(4) Distribution according to Economic and Cultural Spheres

The territorial distribution of the Jews greatly influences their economic and cultural life. They form everywhere only a small minority among the population, and have therefore to adapt themselves to the economic structure of their surroundings which they themselves can affect only to a very limited degree, but on the whole have to accept. They are largely merchants and traders, because they had come as such to Europe from the Near East; but the character and size of their business was, and is, determined by the economic and legal conditions of their country of residence. The same is true of cultural conditions; they have in many ways to assimilate and adapt themselves to their surroundings. Even though, since the fourteenth century, the shutting up of the Jews in Western and Central Europe in special quarters (ghettos) impeded their relations with non-Jews, these were never completely broken off, and have again increased since the abolition of the ghettos. Even in Eastern Europe, owing to compulsory elementary education, the Yiddish which the Jews have spoken during the last 500 years, is now losing ground as against the vernacular of the various countries; and the knowledge of the language

necessarily leads to an acquaintance with the literature and culture of the country.

About 52 per cent of the Jews now inhabit countries in which more than two-thirds of the population are agrarian; 11 per cent countries in which the agrarian classes form between one and two-thirds of the population; and 37 per cent countries in which these amount to less than one-third. During recent decades the Jews have moved increasingly from agrarian to partly or predominantly industrial countries, which implies a transition from petty trade and handicrafts to big trade and industry.

Culturally the parts of the world inhabited by Jews can be divided into four areas: Western and Central Europe, including 15·7 per cent of world-Jewry; America and the British Dominions with 32·4 per cent; Eastern Europe and Siberia with 46·2 per cent; and the Near East and North Africa with 5·7 per cent. The first two areas comprise countries of a higher, and the second two of a lower culture. Whereas in 1870 less than 20 per cent, and in 1900 only 24·5 per cent of all the Jews inhabited the areas of higher culture, by 1933 the percentage had risen to 48·1. As since the War the countries of Eastern Europe and the Near East have made considerable progress in popular education and culture, a further increase in this percentage can be expected, which is important for the assimilation of the Jews to their neighbours, as this naturally increases with the rise of the general cultural level.

(5) Distribution by Linguistic Areas

The assimilation of the Jews is strongly influenced by the language of the country they inhabit. As they value a higher culture, they are anxious to learn the language of culturally advanced countries. They show, therefore, a preference for English, German, and French; in recent times, also for Russian, Polish, Magyar, and Czech.

In 1933 the distribution of Jews by linguistic areas was as follows:

Polish*	3,050,000
Russian, White Russian, and Ukrainian	2,825,000
Other Slav languages (Czech, Serbo-Croat, Bulgarian, etc.)	500,000
Total in countries of Slav language	6,375,000
English	5,150,000
Roumanian	900,000
German	800,000
Arabic	775,000
Magyar	500,000
Spanish and Portuguese	350,000
French	260,000
Lithuanian	160,000
Dutch	120,000
Greek	115,000
Lettish	95,000
Turkish	88,000
Persian	60,000
Italian	55,000
Other languages	43,000

* This comprises the entire area in which Polish is the official language—therefore also the Ukrainian, White Russian, and Lithuanian provinces of Poland; the next item covers mainly Soviet Russia.

Thus almost one-third of world-Jewry now lives in English-speaking countries, and 40·2 per cent in Slav countries.

CHAPTER III

MIGRATION TO THE CITIES

(1) Vocation and Domicile

In conformity with the general rule that vocation governs domicile, the Jews who came as merchants from the Near East to Europe, settled in the centres of commerce—in all, or only in the more important towns of the country, according to the level of its economic development. Means of communication determine the size of the self-contained economic unit, and where the requirements of the population have to be met within the immediate neighbourhood, every town, however small, is commercially important.

In the Middle Ages, when road transport was exceedingly difficult and waterways were the arteries of trade, the Jews lived mainly in towns on navigable rivers, and in spreading into Europe, followed the main rivers—the Rhine, Danube, Elbe, and Dniepr (some of their customs even presupposed that their habitation should be near a river). But even these centres of medieval Jewry comprised only a few hundred each, the biggest, a few thousands; and as far into the nineteenth century the greater part of world-Jewry inhabited Eastern Europe, where in the absence of good means of communication small towns continued to offer opportunities to traders, during that period the Jews lived predominantly in small towns.

When in the last hundred years networks of roads, railways, and canals were developed in Western Europe, and in Eastern Europe in the last fifty years, small towns steadily lost in importance as centres of commerce. Goods could now, at any time, be obtained cheaply and quickly even from a

considerable distance, and commerce tended to centre in towns which were conveniently placed at a junction of routes, and which, owing to a strong influx of people, were growing into cities. In such countries the Jews now tended to leave the small towns for the cities. This movement, although a universal concomitant of modern industrial development, set in earlier and stronger in the case of the Jews.

In countries which Jewish immigrants have entered after the modern means of transport had been developed, they settled in the cities only, avoiding the smaller towns. There the concentration of Jews in a few cities, which are centres of commerce, is striking; and where in such a country the capital dominates the economic life, it harbours the majority of its Jews.

(2) The Village Jews in Poland

In migrating to Europe the Jews did not settle in villages, nor take to agriculture. Economically it would not have been profitable to abandon commerce for a primitive agriculture, which in Eastern Europe, and to some extent even in Central and Western Europe, was carried on by peasant serfs. Even legally they were barred from it; in many cases the land was held by communes to which Jews, as outsiders, were not admitted; while in the later Middle Ages they were forbidden to engage in agriculture or to acquire land. There were some exceptions in earlier centuries—in Spain, Southern France, and Southern Germany, Jews owned vineyards and orchards, as they had in ancient Babylon.

If none the less Jews inhabited villages until recent times, this was because of the special part which, since the fifteenth century, they played as go-betweens and agents on the estates of the big Polish landowners.

The complete absence of a Christian commercial middle

class in Poland, and the monopoly vested in the big landlords of making and selling vodka, necessitated in every village the presence of at least one Jew, who leased the public-house from the landlord. According to a statistical survey of the Polish provinces of Kiev, Volhynia, and Podolia, made in the second half of the eighteenth century, there were in every village, on the average, seven Jewish inhabitants, *i.e.* one Jewish family. But there were innumerable villages and very few towns; in East Galicia, therefore, 27 per cent of the Jewish population lived in villages, and in West Galicia even 43·1 per cent.

When expelled from Polish towns, the Jews sometimes found refuge with the big landlords, founding settlements on their estates. These Jewish townships, urban in character so far as the occupations of their inhabitants were concerned, in size and lay-out did not differ greatly from villages. Owing to the backward condition of the means of communication in Poland, those townships retained their Jewish population till far into the nineteenth century. Only in its last twenty-five years, the Jews began to migrate from the villages and small towns into the cities; in the present century, after a change in the licensing laws, and still more since the War, this movement has continued at a growing rate.

Similar conditions prevailed in a few German States, for instance, in Hesse and Baden. Here, too, Jews expelled from certain towns settled in villages under the protection of the small princes, and lived as dealers in grain, wool, and cattle, until, owing to the development of railways and agricultural co-operatives, that trade was drawn into the towns.

(3) Jews as City Dwellers

Three degrees can at present be distinguished in the "urbanization" of the Jews in various countries:

(*a*) The Jewish population is altogether urban where it is mainly composed of recent immigrants (in the United States, Canada, and South Africa). There, hardly any Jews live in villages, and at the utmost a few per cent of the total in the small towns.[1] Conditions are different in the Argentine and in Palestine, where the agricultural colonization of the I.C.A., of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, and of the Zionist Organization, has created a Jewish peasantry—15 per cent of the Jewish population in the Argentine inhabit villages, and 26·3 per cent in Palestine. According to Linfield,[2] in 1927, of the Jews in the United States—

84·0	per cent	lived	in	68 large towns.
11·6	,,	,,	,,	680 middle-sized towns.
1·8	,,	,,	,,	2042 small towns and villages with more than 2500 inhabitants.
1·0	,,	,,	,,	12,908 villages with less than 2500 inhabitants.
1·6	,,	,,	,,	rural districts outside of villages.

Of the 84 per cent Jews inhabiting the 68 large towns, about half lived in New York City, which, with its two million Jews, represents the largest Jewish settlement known in history.

Conversely, in the large cities the Jews form a higher percentage of the total population than in middle-sized and small towns. According to Linfield it amounted—

	Per cent.
In the large towns to	11·1
,, middle-sized towns with 25,000–100,000 inhabitants to .	3·1
,, ,, ,, ,, 10,000– 25,000 ,, ,,	1·8
,, small ,, ,, 5,000– 10,000 ,, ,,	1·1
,, townships ,, 2,500– 5,000 ,, ,,	1·0

Thus the attraction which towns exercise on the Jews grows with their size. The reasons are partly economic;

[1] Towns with less than 10,000 inhabitants are here described as "small", with 10,000 to 100,000 as "middle-sized", and with more than 100,000 as "large".

[2] *American Jewish Year Book*, 5689 (Philadelphia, 1928), p. 101.

besides, the Jews prefer to live in the centres of civilization.

In Canada the three largest towns, Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg, accounted, in 1921, for 77 per cent of the Canadian Jews, in the Argentine, the capital Buenos Aires harboured more than half, and in Brazil, Rio de Janeiro, almost half, of all the Jews inhabiting the country. Similarly, of the Jewish immigrants who came to England in the last fifty years, approximately two-thirds have settled in London, of the Jewish immigrants to France, about four-fifths in Paris, and of those to Belgium, two-thirds at Antwerp and Brussels.

(*b*) The second group with regard to the urbanization of the Jews includes those countries of Central Europe (Germany, Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, etc.) where they have lived for many centuries. Here 5–10 per cent continue in the villages, about the same number in the small towns, and about 20–40 per cent in the middle-sized towns, which therefore still play a considerable part in the life of their Jewries.

Certain Oriental countries, in which the Jews have lived for a long time, fall into the same class. In North Africa (Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Egypt), in Mesopotamia, Persia, and Afghanistan, two-thirds to nine-tenths of all the Jews inhabit a few big cities, and the rest other towns. There are hardly any in the villages. Besides economic reasons, this is due to the fact that in previous times the lives and property of Jews were not safe in the villages, which to some extent is the case even now.

(*c*) The third class includes the territories which had belonged to Poland before the Partitions; the neighbouring districts of Russia, Roumania, and Hungary; and Slovakia and Carpatho-Russia in Czechoslovakia. In these countries, since the end of the Middle Ages, the Jews inhabited largely villages and small towns, and a change in this matter has supervened in recent times only. Between 1897 and 1926 the percentage of Jews inhabiting villages and small urban

townships[1]—in character not much different from villages—has dropped in the Ukraine from 48 to 22·6 per cent, and in White Russia from 34 to 16·4 per cent. In the other countries of this class only 25–50 per cent of the Jews continue to inhabit villages and small towns. In the Ukraine the Jews migrate in big numbers to its two capitals, Kiev and Kharkov, where before the War their right of residence was severely restricted; from 1897 to 1926 the number of Jews at Kiev has risen from 32,093 to 140,256, and at Kharkov, from a few thousands to 81,830.

(4) Migration from Towns to the Metropolis

In the Diaspora the urban character of Jewry is a permanent phenomenon, but its concentration in metropolitan cities—in capitals with a population rising into the millions—is characteristic of our age, which resembles the first two centuries of the Christian era, when a million Jews are said to have lived in Alexandria, and hundreds of thousands in Antioch and Rome. In the Middle Ages, the Jews were most numerous in Grenada and Toledo. After A.D. 1500, all Jewish communities declined in numbers. In the eighteenth century several towns in the Near East—Baghdad, Smyrna, Constantinople, and Salonica—had Jewish communes numbering more than ten thousand, but not one in the rest of Europe.

According to an interesting calculation by Lestschinsky[2]

[1] The "small urban township" formed in Tsarist Russia a distinct administrative class, in between the village and the town. The difference between the small town and the village is more marked in Central than in Eastern Europe, as its towns were usually built on a definite plan, whereas in Eastern Europe they have grown casually out of villages, or were founded on big landed estates.

[2] "Die Umsiedlung und Umschichtung des jüdischen Volkes", *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, July 1929, p. 147 (Jena, 1929); by the same author, *Schriften für Wirtschaft und Statistik* (in Yiddish), vol. i. p. 15 (Berlin, 1928).

in 1925, the fourteen cities in Europe and America with more than one million inhabitants included 3½ million Jews in their total population of 38 millions, *i.e.* 9·2 per cent. The percentage was largest in Odessa (36·4) and New York (29·6), smallest in Hamburg (1·7) and Glasgow (1·5). The percentage of Jews in these cities was four and a half times larger than in the total population of Europe and America.

In 1925, of all the Jews 45 per cent inhabited towns with more than 100,000 inhabitants, and 23 per cent cities with more than one million inhabitants; thus nearly one-half of world-Jewry lived in large towns, nearly one-fourth in cities, and nearly one-eighth in New York City alone. This degree of concentration in cities or metropolitan towns has not been reached by any other nation, though in England, in 1930, 40 per cent of the population lived in towns with more than 100,000 inhabitants, and 14 per cent in cities with more than one million inhabitants.

When compared with New York Jewry, which now, in 1933, must be estimated at fully 2 millions, all the others seem small. There are at present fifteen other cities in the world with more than 100,000 Jews—Chicago and Warsaw with 350,000, Philadelphia with 300,000, Lodz, Budapest, Vienna, and London with 200,000, and the rest—Odessa, Berlin, Paris, Moscow, Boston, Cleveland, Kiev, and Leningrad—with 100,000 to 175,000.

In a few cases the majority of the Jews inhabiting the country is concentrated in the capital or the largest town—in Copenhagen 93 per cent, in Vienna 87, in Paris 70, in London 67, and in Amsterdam 60 per cent.

(5) Percentage of Jews among the Urban Population

The percentage of the Jews in the towns is everywhere much higher than among the total population of the country.

In Poland, where, in 1921, the Jews formed 10·4 per cent of the population, their percentage was

	Per cent.
In the villages	3·7
„ towns with less than 20,000 inhabitants .	33·4
„ „ „ more „ „ „ .	31·6

In a few towns the Jews formed even the majority of the population—at Bialystok 51·6 per cent, and at Rovno 71·2. The Jewish appearance especially of the small and middle-sized Polish towns is enhanced by the Jews having their shops and offices in the chief thoroughfares, and doing a good deal of their business in the street.

Also in Lithuania, White Russia, and Carpatho-Russia, the Jews form 30–40 per cent of the town population, and in the Ukraine, according to census of 1926, 23 per cent. On the other hand, in Central and Western Europe the proportion of Jews among the urban population of the country does not exceed 5 per cent.

(6) Formation of Ghettos

In the cities the Jews often concentrate in certain quarters, as in the medieval ghettos. In the Middle Ages this was originally done for reasons of security and for the easier observance of religious customs, and it was only in the fifteenth century that this voluntary segregation came to be enforced by law. The tendency to form ghettos is now strongest in countries with large numbers of recent immigrants; but it is not peculiar to the Jews—similarly the Italians, Armenians, Syrians, and Chinese have in New York their own districts. The first immigrants form a nucleus in some quarter where rents are low, access to their workshops is easy, and a place of worship near. Further immigrants tend to settle round that nucleus, and, sheltered in it, gradually acquire the language and customs of

the country. Housing conditions in those ghettos are almost invariably bad, but acceptable to the new immigrant, whose foremost wish is to find a cheap shelter. As soon, however, as he has acquired the necessary means, he tries to leave the ghetto for some better quarter.

In New York City there is a gradual shifting of the Jewish inhabitants from the proletarian ghettos on the East Side to Brooklyn and Bronx, and from there to fashionable quarters, such as Washington Heights. This "shifting", which immigrants, if specially lucky, accomplish in one generation, but which usually takes two or three generations, continually alters the distribution of the Jews in the New York area. Now that, owing to the restrictions on immigration, new-comers no longer replace those who leave the East Side, the number of Jews diminishes there, while it increases in Bronx and Brooklyn.

Similar conditions prevail in other American cities—Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland—which until recent years had a strong Jewish immigration. Each has its proletarian district, into which the immigrants crowd at first, but which they gradually abandon for middle-class districts. The social position of the American Jew is best defined by the district he inhabits. This is the index of his economic situation, and even of his political outlook, and most of all of the stage he has reached in assimilation. The Jew in the first ghetto is "orthodox" in his religion, in the second "conservative", in the third "reformed" or "liberal".[1] The proletarian ghettos work as filtering-bed, in which immigrants, too old or unable to adjust themselves to new conditions, sink to the bottom and form a residue. The others —most of all the second generation—supply the outflow. They do not, however, as a rule, move straight to the non-Jewish districts, but pass through a second, middle-class, ghetto. It takes some time before in the new country they cease to feel strangers, and before they can freely move

[1] Louis Wirth, *The Ghetto* (Chicago, 1928), p. 256.

among the non-Jews without grating upon them by their alien character. Like the butterfly which has to pass through the stages of the caterpillar and chrysalis, the Jewish immigrant requires several transmutations before he has fully adjusted himself to the new surroundings.

As a result of the Jewish mass-immigration, the tendency to form ghettos is specially marked in American cities, but, to a smaller degree, the same happens in European cities with numerous Jewish new-comers. There is Whitechapel in London, the district round the Rue de Rivoli in Paris, round the Grenadierstrasse in Berlin, and the Leopoldstadt in Vienna, where the Jews congregate. In 1923 the Jews formed 10·8 per cent of the population of Vienna, but 38·5 in the Leopoldstadt; 4·3 per cent of Berlin, but 10·5 of Berlin Centre. Everywhere alike, the immigrant endeavours to leave the "Jewish" quarter as soon as his economic position improves. He does not wish to remain in a district notorious as the domicile of poor and uneducated immigrants. He feels he has achieved the rise into a higher class, which he longs for, only after he has emerged from the ghetto.

The concomitant of the concentration of Jews in certain parts of the city is that in other districts, especially on the outskirts, there are comparatively few, and in some parts practically none, even in towns with large Jewries.

(7) The Influence of the Cities on Jewish Life

A change of domicile from a small to a large town implies a complete transformation of the style of living. In a big centre of civilization the new-comer is affected by new ideas and freed from the hold which tradition had on him in the narrow world of the small town. No spiritual or political revolutions have ever originated in small towns, but always in the cities.

With the Jews the influence of the city is specially noticeable in the following directions :

(*a*) The strong communal life is dissolved, which was previously characteristic among the Jews and forced the individual to subordinate his interests to those of the community. Jewish Emancipation, by loosening the ties of misery and oppression, has contributed to the dissolution of that community, while the city enables the individual to withdraw himself from the control of the group, and to go his own ways, which almost invariably lead him away from Judaism.

(*b*) He finds easier access to schools, universities, and other higher educational institutions.

(*c*) He finds opportunities to acquire riches by big and risky transactions, though also to lose them with the same speed. This hunt for riches introduces uncertainty, unrest, and hurry into the economic life of the Jews, which in the smaller towns followed a comparatively quiet and even course.

(*d*) Birth-control is practised, as everywhere among the educated classes in cities.

(*e*) Easier intercourse with non-Jews leads to an increase of mixed marriages.

(*f*) Religious tradition is abandoned—everywhere the cities are centres of religious indifference and atheism.

Under the influence of the new city life, Jewry, which even in the eighteenth century still formed a culturally and socially uniform mass, has split into different classes. In the small towns tradition has maintained itself much better than in the cities with their strong tendency to assimilation. Migration to large and metropolitan towns frees the Jew from his traditional bonds. His Judaism loses in vitality and warmth, and ceases to control his actions. The Jew dominated by tradition changes into a Jewish free-thinker, rationalist, and utilitarian. This type, as a produce of the city, exists also among the non-Jews, but is less prominent

as they continue to receive a constant influx of population from villages and small towns, whereas the Jews have no such reserves.

The tendency in cities towards assimilation and the turning away from Judaism is the more marked, the smaller the percentage which the Jews form of the population, and the less they congregate in special quarters. It is not an accident that among the large cities Hamburg has (after Glasgow) the smallest percentage of Jews, no ghetto, and the greatest percentage of mixed marriages. Numbers and concentration tend to isolate the Jews from the non-Jews, even if they inhabit the same city; the reverse conditions increase the intermixture of Jews and non-Jews, and promote assimilation.

CHAPTER IV

JEWISH MIGRATIONS

(1) CAUSES AND CHARACTER OF THE JEWISH MIGRATIONS SINCE 1800

TILL the end of the eighteenth century Jewish migrations in Europe, following the line of the general advance, went from West to East, but in the nineteenth century the direction of their main stream was reversed. The Jews, long settled in Southern Germany, as well as those inhabiting the late Polish provinces (which only at the end of the eighteenth century had come under Prussian dominion), started leaving their homes in increasing numbers. Improvements in communications, and especially the growth of railways, deprived the small towns of their commercial importance, and their Jews of an economic basis. Some migrated to the large towns, others to Western Europe and to overseas countries. Jewish emigration from Russia was due to a strong natural increase, and the virtual restriction of their residence to the so-called " Pale of Settlement", which comprised the ten Polish and the fifteen neighbouring Russian provinces. Even about 1800, when the Jewish population of the "Pale" was only 800,000, it was with great difficulty that they eked out an existence as merchants, inn-keepers, or artisans. By 1900 Russian Jewry had increased to almost 5½ millions, overcrowding, to an intolerable degree, the districts and professions open to them in Russia, whose economic system had developed but little in the intervening century. A Jewish emigration to the West now started from Eastern Europe, numerically far in excess of all previous Jewish migrations.

The movement falls into two periods of different intensity. In the first, 1800–1880, it was individual, and not a mass movement. Often only after a painful struggle, the individual Jew would make up his mind to emigrate, because of impossible economic conditions, or of the disappointment of his political hopes in the years of reaction which followed on the German Revolution of 1848. The emigrants of that period, who came from Germany rather than from Eastern Europe, had something of the character of pioneers. They went to countries about which they knew very little, and which, at that time, were mostly less developed than their own. Very different was the Jewish emigration after 1880. The impelling force behind it was pogroms and the increasingly hostile attitude of the Russian Government. The Jews, who had previously hoped that Russia would enter the path of Western Liberalism and grant them equal rights, were suddenly faced by legislative and administrative measures establishing a system of political and economic oppression. Even previously their economic condition in the Pale had been unsatisfactory, but living in constant hopes of an imminent improvement, they had been loath to abandon their homes. Now a mighty stream of emigrants broke forth; individual thinking gave way to a mass impulse, almost to a mass psychosis.

In Galicia, a province of Austria, the Jews enjoyed equal rights and were spared pogroms; but just as in Russia, owing to the backward economic condition of the country, subsistence could not be found for their growing numbers—many lived as *Luftmenschen*,[1] without anything even distantly resembling an economic basis. In Roumania the Jews suffered oppression, the Government, in spite of promises given at the Berlin Congress of 1878, withholding from them the grant of equal rights. The mass emigration, which started in Russia, soon extended to the Jews of Galicia and Roumania.

[1] An untranslatable word—men who neither sow nor reap, but live in the air, on air.

(2) Size of the Emigration

Between 1800 and 1880 the number of Jews in the United States, the main destination of Jewish emigrants, rose from a few thousands to 230,000—which points to an average yearly immigration of about 2000; between 1881 and 1899, the yearly average reached 30,000, and between 1900 and 1914, 100,000. Adding the emigration to other overseas countries (Canada, the Argentine, South Africa, Palestine, etc.) and to Central and Western Europe, the total Jewish emigration from Eastern Europe during the years 1800–1880 must be put at about 250,000, *i.e.* a yearly average of about 3000; for 1881–1899 at 1,000,000, and a yearly average of about 50,000; and for 1900–1914 at 2,000,000, and an average of 135,000. Percentually these figures place the East European Jews first among emigrant nations; about the middle of the period 1881–1914, their number in Russia, Galicia, and Roumania amounted to about 6½ millions, and measured by that figure, the emigrants formed about 46 per cent. The corresponding Italian rate, which is otherwise the highest in Europe, was only 15 per cent after the re-emigrants have been deducted—these were numerous among the Italians, but very few among the Jews.

During the years 1915 to 1920 migration across frontiers was paralysed by war and shortage of transport; and Jewish overseas emigration sank to a yearly average of 15,000. In 1921 (see Table II) the flow of emigrants, dammed up during the War, broke through with violence, and in that single year Jewish emigration reached a total of 141,000, of whom 136,000 went overseas. But the next year, the first Act restricting immigration came into force in the United States, and during 1922 to 1925 Jewish emigration sank to a yearly average of 82,000 (78,000 overseas). When admittance to the States was further reduced by the Quota Act of 1924, Jewish overseas emigration sank rapidly, and

during the years of 1926 to 1930 amounted to only 40,000 a year, in a total of 44,000. Of these, on the average only 10,000 a year, *i.e.* one-fourth, went to the United States, which before the War used to receive two-thirds of the total Jewish emigration.

Since 1929 the economic crisis and growing unemployment have produced similar drastic restrictions in most other countries—Canada, South Africa, France, Germany, etc.; they bar all immigration which might burden the labour market, but especially immigration from Eastern Europe. The most important countries are now all closed to Jewish immigrants, admitting only a few categories (relatives of denizens, professors, students, etc.). In 1931 the total of Jewish emigrants from Eastern Europe was only 30,000, and their number continued to decline. Palestine was the only exception, its Jewish immigration having risen from 4000 in 1931 to 8800 in 1932 and to about 25,000 in 1933.

(3) The Destination of Emigrants

(a) *Overseas Migrations*

The statistics of emigrants are less complete in the countries of origin than of immigrants in the overseas countries, where a strict control yields a more complete survey. Of the most important countries of origin, Poland and Roumania supply data concerning the number and destination of Jewish emigrants. As shown in Table III, in 1929, of the Jews giving overseas countries as their destination, less than one-third went to the United States, and slightly less than one-fifth to the Argentine; and in 1931, emigrants to the United States formed only 9·1 per cent among the Jews leaving Poland for overseas countries. As between other countries, Jewish emigrants from Poland show a preference for Brazil, Canada, and Palestine; from

TABLE II

Number of Jewish Immigrants

Year.	United States.	Palestine.	Argentine.	Canada.	Brazil.	South Africa.	Uruguay.	Cuba.	Other Overseas Countries.†	Remaining Countries.	Total.
1921‡ .	119,036	8,517	4,095	2,763	500*	500*	..	..	1,000*	5,000*	141,411
1922 .	53,524	9,481	7,198	8,513	1,000*	500*	..	500*	1,000*	5,000*	86,716
1923 .	49,719	9,478	13,701	3,055	1,000*	500*	..	1,000*	1,500*	5,000*	84,953
1924 .	49,989	16,297	7,799	4,407	1,500*	773	..	1,500*	2,000*	3,000*	87,265
1925 .	10,292	36,933	6,920	4,493	2,624	1,353	..	2,000*	2,000*	2,000*	68,615
1926 .	10,267	14,656	7,534	4,254	3,906	1,479	500	2,000*	1,500*	3,000*	49,096
1927 .	11,483	3,450	5,584	4,842	5,167	1,725	1,000	1,000*	1,500*	4,000*	39,751
1928 .	11,639	2,001	6,812	3,694	4,055	2,295	1,500	500*	1,000*	5,000*	38,496
1929 .	12,479	5,249	5,986	3,680	5,610	2,664	2,400	476	1,000*	6,000*	45,544
1930 .	11,526	4,944	7,805	4,164	3,558	1,200	1,600	1,374	1,000*	5,000*	41,970
1922–30	339,954	111,006	73,434	43,865	28,920	12,989	7,000	10,350	13,500	43,000	683,817
1931	5,692	4,075	3,555	3,421							
1932		8,819									

* An estimated figure.

† The other overseas countries include—

Mexico with *circa* 6000 Jewish emigrants in 1921–1930.
Australia „ „ 3000 „ „ „ „ „
Egypt „ „ 3000 „ „ „ „ „

‡ The year 1921 for the United States is the fiscal year of July 1, 1920, to June 30, 1921.

Roumania, for Uruguay and the smaller South American Republics (Peru, Venezuela, Colombia).

TABLE III

In 1929 the following Number of Jews emigrated to	From Poland.		From Roumania.	
	In Absolute Figures.	In %.	In Absolute Figures.	In %.
United States	6,259	32·1	1,096	29·8
Argentine	3,892	19·9	621	17·0
Brazil	2,765	14·2	330	9·0
Canada	2,678	13·7	256	7·0
Palestine	1,881	9·6	160	4·4
Uruguay	496	2·5	533	14·6
Peru	..	..	152	4·1
Africa	427	2·2	..	..
Chile	..	..	39	1·0
Cuba	426	2·2	26	0·7
Venezuela	..	..	197	5·3
Mexico	284	1·5	23	0·7
Colombia	..	..	205	5·6
Australia	215	1·1	..	..
Other countries	183	1·0	28	0·8
Total	19,506	100·0	3,666	100·0

1. The United States

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the conception of America did not as yet enter into the life of East European Jewry. Sephardic Jews from Holland, England, and Brazil had settled in North America as early as the seventeenth century, but their number was small, and in 1800 amounted to only a few thousands. Their economic and political position was excellent. By 1848, the year of the German Revolution, immigration had slowly raised the number of Jews in the United States to 50,000. Most of them came from Germany, especially from Posnania and Southern Germany, but there was an occasional admixture of Polish Jews. After 1848 the immigration of German Jews

increased considerably, and they were joined by Polish and Hungarian Jews. By 1880 the number of Jews in the United States amounted to 230,000. Next rose the great wave of East European immigration, swamping the German immigration. Some 600,000 Jews entered the United States between 1881 and 1899, and four-fifths of them were from Eastern Europe.

Beginning with 1899, official figures are available for the Jewish immigration to the United States, but they require correction. In the American statistical returns Jews are registered as "Hebrews", *i.e.* as a race or a people; almost only Yiddish-speaking Jews from Eastern Europe are entered as such, but not the Jews from Western and Central Europe, nor assimilated Jews who speak a non-Jewish East European language. The figures of Jewish immigrants given by the American statistics fall short of what they would have been had religion been taken for criterion—I estimate the deficiency at 5–10 per cent.

Between 1899 and 1914, when a total of 1,450,000 "Hebrews", *i.e.* on the average 97,000 a year, entered the United States, the maximum was reached in 1906 with 154,000, and the minimum in 1899 with 37,000. These oscillations were caused by variations in the pressure exercised against the Jews in Eastern Europe, and by economic fluctuations in the United States. In periods of prosperity the Jews resident in the States were better able to supply the passage money for their relatives and friends from Eastern Europe, and to encourage their coming.

Because of the War, during the years 1915–1920 Jewish emigration from Eastern Europe to the United States dropped to a yearly average of 15,000, but in 1921 it rose again to 119,000. After this last year of mass immigration, a rapid decline set in, as a result of legal restrictions which steadily increased in severity. The first restricting Act in 1922 reduced the immigration of Hebrews during the years 1922–1924 to a yearly average of 50,000, and the Quota Act of 1924, during the years 1925–1933, to an average

of 10,000. By the Quota Act every country is allowed 2 per cent of the number of people who, at the United States census of 1890, had named it as the land of their origin, and the total immigration quota amounts to about 153,000 a year. It was the aim of the Quota Act to restrict East European immigration, as this was considered by the United States Government prejudicial to the cultural level and racial composition of the population, and to favour immigration from Northern Europe. The aim was achieved, and the proportion of Hebrews in the total number of immigrants, which before the War maintained a fairly steady level of about 10 per cent, in the years 1921 and 1922 rose to 16, and even in 1923 and 1924 still amounted to 8·8, sank in 1925 to 1931 to 3·7.

Further legislative and administrative regulations issued on the basis of the Quota Act have reduced the number of immigrants still more, and *e.g.* in 1931 only 48,000 out of the 153,000 immigrants allowed under the Quota were actually admitted. Certain privileged categories (*e.g.* parents and wives of American citizens and their children under eighteen, professors, clergymen, etc.) do not come under the Quota regulations. But this supernumerary immigration diminishes as the numbers decline of near relatives of American citizens left abroad.

In 1931 the immigration of "Hebrews" had reached the lowest level since 1888—a total of only 5692, of whom 54·2 per cent entered under the Quota, and 45·8 outside it.

According to the country of origin, of the 1,911,253 Hebrews during the period 1899–1931, there came from—

	Per cent.
Russia	59·8
Austria-Hungary (since 1920 Poland)*	20·9
Roumania	5·6
Great Britain	4·0
Other countries	9·7

* Most Jewish immigrants from Austria-Hungary came from Galicia, which, since 1919 belongs to Poland.

The Hebrews from Great Britain are almost without exception East European Jews, who entered the United States after having spent some time in Great Britain. Similarly, of the Jews registered as from "other countries", a considerable proportion consisted of East European Jews who came, *e.g.*, by way of Canada.

Owing to the separation of Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, and Bessarabia from the previous Russian Empire, and to restrictions placed on emigration by the Soviets, Russia has lost to Poland the first place among the countries of origin. In 1930 and 1931, of the Hebrew immigrants to the United States there came—

	1930. Per cent.	1931. Per cent.
From Poland	39·2	30·4
„ Roumania	8·8	9·0
„ Russia	7·1	3·9
„ Great Britain . . .	6·3	4·7
„ other countries . . .	38·6	52·0
	100·0	100·0

These figures are typical of the change which, since the War, has occurred in Jewish emigration in general. In 1929, of the total of 45,948 Jewish emigrants there came—

	Per cent.
From Poland	51·0
„ Roumania	9·9
„ Lithuania	6·2
„ Soviet Russia, Latvia, Carpatho-Russia, etc. .	32·9
	100·0

Of the Jews from Poland, 19,573 went overseas and 3872 to European countries.

Of the Jewish immigrants to the United States, only a small fraction re-emigrated. While of the non-Jews many went with the intention to return home after having saved some money, the Jews came to settle for good. During the

years 1908–1925 the percentage of re-emigrants among the Jews was only 5·2, among the Roumanians 67·0, the Magyars 64·2, and the Italians 55·8. Since 1925, owing to restrictions, immigration, and also re-emigration, have diminished considerably with all nations.

Jewish immigration into the United States is now reduced to practically nothing. The country, which during the last fifty years was for the Jews the gate from oppression to freedom, and from poverty to competence, which served as a regulator for the economic life of the Jews in Eastern Europe, and as safety-valve in times of the worst oppression, is now for them a lost paradise.

2. Other Overseas Countries

Reliable data concerning Jewish immigration into other overseas countries are available mostly for the post-War period only (see Table II); an attempt has, however, been made in Table IV to show the growth of their Jewish population on the basis of censuses or of reliable estimates, and as this growth is mainly due to immigration, conclusions can be drawn concerning the size of Jewish immigration during the previous periods also.

Canada, which in 1880 had a Jewish population of 2400, received some 10,000 Jewish immigrants in the years 1881–1900, and about 120,000 during 1901–1931, almost all from Eastern Europe. A small colony of Sephardic Jews had long been settled in Canada, but there were none of the immigrants from Germany who in the United States form the highest and richest stratum among the Jews. During the last ten years Canada has played a certain part as transit country for immigrants to the United States. The Canadian Government, even at a time when immigration from Great Britain and Central Europe was still encouraged, did not altogether favour that from

TABLE IV

Growth of Jewish Population in Overseas Countries

Approximate Number of Jews in the Year	United States.	Canada.	Argentine.	Palestine.	South Africa.	Brazil.	Uruguay.	Cuba.	Mexico.	Egypt.	Australia and New Zealand.
1800 . .	2,000	..	..	10,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1850 . .	50,000	500	..	12,000	1,000	..	..	1,000	..	..	..
1880 . .	230,000	2,400	..	25,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1890 . .	500,000	6,400	1,000	35,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1900 . .	1,000,000	16,400	30,000	55,000	30,000	3,000	..	3,000	1,000	27,000	16,000
1910 . .	2,200,000	70,000	90,000	80,000	50,000	5,000	..	..	2,000	40,000	18,000
1920 . .	3,200,000	120,000	130,000	75,000	60,000	7,000	1,000	4,000	..	60,000	24,000
1930 . .	4,400,000	150,000	220,000	170,000	..	40,000	10,000	9,000	12,000	65,000	..
1933 . .	4,500,000	170,000	240,000	220,000	80,000	45,000	12,000	9,000	12,000	70,000	33,000

Eastern Europe. Now only farmers or farm labourers, servants, and near relatives of Canadian citizens have a chance of admission. Between 1901 and 1930 Jewish immigration to Canada formed approximately 2·1 per cent of the total; and during the years 1924 to 1930 it amounted to an average of about 4000. Most of these immigrants settled in the three largest towns—Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg—which, in 1921, comprised 79 per cent of Canadian Jewry. Of 3421 Jewish immigrants in 1931, 65·3 per cent came from Poland, 7·7 from Russia, 6·6 from Roumania, 3·9 from Lithuania, and 16·5 from other countries. Since then immigration to Canada has been stopped almost completely.

Jewish immigration to the **Argentine** starts with the attempts of Russian Jews to settle there as farmers; these began about 1890, when the Argentine had a Jewish population of only about 1000, and were encouraged by the "Jewish Colonization Association" (I.C.A.), founded about that time by Baron Hirsch for the promotion of Jewish agricultural settlement. The agricultural settlers were joined by many urban immigrants. From 1904 till 1915, 82,463 Jews entered the Argentine, *i.e.* about 7000 a year. Between 1916 and 1920, owing to the War, their number dropped to a few hundred, but during the years 1921–1930 it rose to an average of 7300 (1928: 6812; 1929: 5986; 1930: 7805; 1931: 3555; 1932: about 2500), making about 6 per cent of the total immigration. The majority of the immigrants settled in the capital, Buenos Aires, which comprises about half of the 250,000 Jews inhabiting the Argentine. Some 36,000 live in the agricultural colonies, and the remainder in towns. Recently the Argentine Government started restricting immigration, which produced a drop in the total immigration from 124,006 in 1930 to 56,331 in 1931 (in the Jewish immigration a drop from 7805 to 3555, and in 1932 even to 2500). But so far no settled immigration policy has been evolved. In 1929, by countries of origin, of the Jewish immigrants—

71·1 per cent came from Poland.
6·5 „ „ „ Russia.
4·5 „ „ „ Roumania.
2·8 „ „ „ Lithuania.
2·4 „ „ „ Syria.
12·7 „ „ „ other countries.

Throughout the nineteenth century, old, pious Jews from Eastern Europe and Morocco went in small numbers to **Palestine.** After 1881 the fringe of the great emigration wave from Russia touched Palestine, and, under the influence of the "Khoveve Zion" ("Friends of Zion"), young men went to Palestine, to live there by their own labour. The number of Jews, which about 1800 amounted to only 10,000 in the then sparsely populated country, and even in 1855 was only 11,000, may be put at 55,000 in 1900, of whom 50,000 lived in the five towns of Jerusalem, Jaffa, Hebron, Tiberias, and Safed, and 5000 in agricultural settlements. From 1900 till the War, under the influence of the Zionist movement, immigration rose to a yearly average of 2000–3000, so that the number of Jews in 1914 amounted to about 85,000. After a decline during the War to about 65,000, due to epidemics and expulsions, a new immigration set in since 1921, which, up to 1933, amounted to about 150,000. Against this, there was a Jewish emigration and re-emigration of about 30,000. A Jewish population of 83,000 was enumerated at the census in 1922, and of 175,000 in 1931. In 1932 there were 8819 Jewish immigrants, and about 800 emigrants; and in 1933 about 25,000 Jews entered, while practically none left the country. With these figures, Palestine takes since 1932 the first place among countries receiving Jewish immigrants. Besides, to the official figures for the last years a certain number of unregistered Jewish immigrants should be added who have come by land routes from Iraq, Persia, and Syria.

Of the Jewish immigrants in 1932, 33·1 per cent came from Poland, 11·1 from Mesopotamia, 9·1 from the U.S.A.,

7·2 from Yemen, 5·3 from Roumania, 4·8 from Persia, 3·7 from Germany, 3·0 from Greece (Salonica), 2·5 from Lithuania, and 20·2 from other countries.

The Palestine Government admits immigrants of independent means (possessed of £1000, or, in some categories, of £500 and £250), while labour immigration is regulated according to the prospects of their finding employment. A schedule for it is fixed half-yearly, and the immigration certificates are handed over to the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, for distribution among the various countries.

In **South Africa** individual Jews can be traced as early as the seventeenth century, but the first Jewish community was founded in 1841. Before 1870 most of the Jewish immigrants came from Holland, Germany, and England; after that, from Lithuania. The number of Hebrews in the Union of South Africa rose from 46,926 in 1911 to 62,438 in 1921 and about 80,000 in 1931. Moreover, there were a few thousand Jews in Rhodesia, mainly in the towns of Bulawayo and Salisbury.

The Jews form approximately 4 per cent of the white population of South Africa. Almost without exception they naturalize at the end of the statutory period of two years' residence; of all naturalizations during the years 1917 to 1925, 60 per cent concerned Jews.

In 1931 a new Act practically closed the country against immigrants except near relatives of citizens, so that South Africa hardly counts any more as an immigration country for the Jews. In 1931 and 1932 Jewish immigration amounted to less than 1000.

In **Brazil**, Spanish Jews settled in considerable numbers in the seventeenth century, and took a prominent part in the economic development of the country. They disappeared, however, during the persecutions by the Inquisition. In the

nineteenth century Sephardic Jews entered the country from Holland and Morocco, and Ashkenazic Jews from Western Europe, but the total in 1900 was only 3000. About this time the I.C.A. founded the two agricultural settlements of Philippson and Quatre Irmaos. Simultaneously immigration started from Eastern Europe which, since 1924, when restricted in the United States, rose to a few thousands a year, making a total of 29,000 from 1921 to 1930 (see Table II). About 35 per cent of the immigrants were from Poland, 9 per cent from Russia, 18 per cent from Roumania (especially from Bessarabia), the rest from Syria, Lithuania, Germany, etc. The greater part settled in the two cities of Rio de Janeiro and San Paolo. The total number of Jews in Brazil is estimated now, in 1933, at 45,000. Jewish immigration reached its maximum in 1929 with the figure of 5610, but has since declined, owing to unfavourable economic conditions in Brazil, and in 1932 amounted to only about 1000.

Since 1927 a yearly average of 1000–2000 Jews from Eastern Europe entered **Uruguay**, where none had been before. They inhabit mostly the capital of Montevideo. Many look upon Uruguay merely as a station on their road to the Argentine or to the United States.

Before the War the Jewish population of **Mexico** was less than 1000. After the War some 10,000 Jews entered Mexico in the hope of finding from there easier access to the United States. A considerable part has remained in the country, mostly in Mexico City. In 1929, owing to political disturbances and unemployment, the Government prohibited all immigration.

A few thousand Sephardic Jews lived in **Cuba** in the nineteenth century. Between 1921 and 1932, some 10,000 Jewish immigrants entered it from Eastern Europe, intending, at the first opportunity, to proceed to the United States.

Only a part succeeded, others returned to their countries of origin; about half have remained in Cuba. Since the hope has vanished of using Cuba as an entrance to the United States, Jewish immigration has practically ceased.

Egypt had in 1900 a Jewish population of 30,000; about 12,000 Jews entered it between 1900 and 1920 (mainly Sephardim from Syria but also some East European Jews), while a few thousand have left it for Western Europe and America. Since 1920 there has been practically no immigration. Almost all the immigrants settled in Cairo and Alexandria, which in 1927 had a Jewish population of 34,103 and 24,829, forming 93 per cent of Egyptian Jewry.

To **Australia** and **New Zealand** Jewish immigrants started coming about the middle of the nineteenth century, mostly from England and Germany; their Jewish population was 16,850 in 1901 and 24,450 in 1921, the growth being due almost entirely to natural increase. After 1921, every year a few hundred Jews, mostly from Poland, entered Australia. Since 1929, however, immigration has been almost completely stopped by the Government, except for near relatives of Australian citizens.

(b) *Overland Migrations*

Overland migrations of Jews have been on a much smaller scale than migrations overseas, and are practically limited to Europe, where their direction is uniformly from East to West. Jews from Russia and Poland (including the former Austrian province of Galicia), and also from Roumania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, went to Vienna, Germany, Belgium, France, England, and in smaller numbers to the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, and Italy. These migrations start early in the nineteenth century. Even then, there was a small trickle of Jewish emigrants from Eastern Europe and Germany (Posnania and South

Germany) to France (Paris) and England. Emigration from Eastern Europe assumed larger dimensions only after 1880, and reached its maximum during the years 1905–1914; as a result of territorial changes it continued for a few years after the War.

In **Poland**, according to the statistics for 1929, there were among the 178,132 Polish emigrants to European countries, 3872 Jews (2·2 per cent); among the 65,310 Polish emigrants to overseas countries, 19,506 Jews (29·9 per cent). In 1931 a total emigration of 64,235 to European countries included 1509 Jews (2·3 per cent), and of 11,770 to overseas countries, 7123 (60·5 per cent). The Christian Poles going to European countries are almost all workmen who seek employment in agriculture or factories, and intend to return home after having saved some money. Very few among the Jews are unskilled labourers, and their intention is to settle for good in their new homes. Of the Jews who left Poland for European countries, there went—

	In 1929.	In 1931.
To France	1917	646
„ Belgium	1370	531
„ Germany	87	14
„ Holland	..	95
„ Roumania	39	223
„ other European countries . .	459	
	3872	1509

The immigration restrictions recently enacted in France and Belgium, which countries alone received any considerable numbers, must have severely reduced the overland migrations of the Polish Jews.

In 1929, of 507 Jewish emigrants from **Hungary**, 468 went overseas, and only 39 to European countries (30 to France). On the other hand, 3091 Jewish immigrants entered Hungary in 1928, and 1709 in 1929; of the latter, 803 were

from Poland, 396 from Czechoslovakia, 300 from Roumania, and 210 from other countries.

From **Czechoslovakia** 399 Jews emigrated in 1928, almost all from the Eastern provinces of Carpatho-Russia and Slovakia; 363 went overseas (248 to the United States), and only 36 to European countries.

The immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe has affected considerably the numbers and composition of the French, Belgian, and English Jewries. Jewish immigration to **France**, during the years 1901–1930, is estimated at 60,000; and, added to the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine with a Jewish population of 30,000, and a certain natural increase, has raised the number of Jews in France from 80,000 in 1900 to 200,000 in 1933. Of the immigrants nearly four-fifths have settled in Paris, the rest at Lille, Lyons, Valenciennes, Rouen, Nancy, etc. Paris, owing to the immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe and from Alsace-Lorraine, and also of Sephardic and Oriental Jews from Constantinople, Salonica, North Africa, and the Near East, now ranks among the cities in Europe with the highest figures of Jews, their number having risen from about 70,000 in 1900 to 150,000 in 1933. **Belgium**, which in 1900 had a Jewish population of only 10,000, owing to immigration from Eastern Europe has now about 60,000. The immigrants are mostly from Galicia, and settle in Antwerp and Brussels, finding employment in the diamond and leather industries, and in commerce. In **Great Britain** immigration from Eastern Europe, together with a natural increase, has raised the number of Jews from about 50,000 in 1880 to 175,000 in 1900 and 330,000 in 1933. About two-thirds of the immigrants have settled in London, the rest mainly in Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Cardiff, and in other commercial centres, finding employment largely in the clothing industry.

In **Germany**, in 1925, of the 403,969 Jews inhabiting Prussia, 76,387 were foreigners. Of these foreign Jews, 35,385, *i.e.* about half, were of Polish nationality, 9498 Austrians, 6986 Russians, 3574 citizens of Czechoslovakia, and the rest Hungarians, Roumanians, Dutch, Lithuanians, Letts, etc. Outside Prussia, foreign Jews were comparatively numerous in Saxony (Leipzig), in Baden (Karlsruhe and Mannheim), and in Bavaria (Munich). At the beginning of 1933 the total number of foreign Jews in Germany amounted to about 100,000, most of whom had come since 1900. In 1933, after the Nazi Revolution, about 50,000 Jews left Germany, mainly for France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, and Palestine.

The total Jewish emigration from Eastern to Central and Western Europe, during the years 1901 to 1933, must be put at about 300,000.

The movement of Jews from **Yemen** to Palestine may be included among the overland migrations. It started about the end of the nineteenth century, and increased a short time before the War and after it. Altogether about 6000 Yemenite Jews have entered Palestine and settled mostly in Jerusalem, Tel-Aviv, and in the agricultural colonies.

The **Spanish** Government, which endeavours to establish a cultural connexion between the Spanish-speaking Jews and Spain, is prepared to facilitate their immigration; but owing to unfavourable economic conditions, few have, so far, entered the country.

The survey of all the overseas and overland migrations of Jews from 1881 to 1930, in Table V, shows that during these fifty years the enormous total of 3,975,000 Jews left their countries of origin, profoundly changing the distribution of the Jews in the world and their economic position. Certain towns in Eastern Europe have lost more than half of their Jewish population to America, while, conversely, East European immigration has created big new Jewish centres

TABLE V

JEWISH MIGRATIONS, 1881–1930

During the fifty years 1881 to 1930 there emigrated—

To	From					
	Russia.	Austria-Hungary (since 1920 from Poland).	Roumania.	Great Britain.	Other Countries.	Together.
United States .	1,749,000	597,000	161,000	114,000	264,000	2,885,000
Canada . .	70,000	40,000	5,000	..	10,000	125,000
Argentine . .	100,000	40,000	20,000	..	20,000	180,000
Brazil . .	6,000	10,000	4,000	..	10,000	30,000
Other South and Central American Countries . .	5,000	10,000	5,000	..	10,000	30,000
Total for America	1,930,000	697,000	195,000	114,000	314,000	3,250,000
Great Britain .	130,000	40,000	30,000	..	10,000	210,000
Germany . .	25,000	75,000	..	..	..	100,000
France . .	40,000	40,000	..	..	20,000	100,000
Belgium . .	15,000	30,000	..	..	5,000	50,000
Switzerland, Italy, Scandinavian countries . .	30,000	..	..	..	..	30,000
Total for Western and Central Europe . .	240,000	185,000	30,000	..	35,000	490,000
South Africa .	45,000	10,000	..	..	5,000	60,000
Egypt . .	20,000	10,000	..	..	5,000	35,000
Total for Africa .	65,000	20,000	..	..	10,000	95,000
Palestine . .	45,000	40,000	10,000	..	25,000	120,000
Australia and New Zealand . .	5,000	10,000	..	..	5,000	20,000
Total . . .	2,285,000	952,000	235,000	114,000	389,000	3,975,000

in America and South Africa, and has restored Jewish life in Central and Western Europe, where it was showing clear marks of decay. Without immigration from Eastern Europe, the small Jewish communities in England, France, and Belgium would probably have lost entirely their Jewish character. Also German Jewry, without the influx of East European Jews and their much larger families, would by now show much more clearly the consequences of its declining birth-rate; small numbers and lack of religious interest would have rendered its Jewish communal life even weaker than it was anyhow at the beginning of 1933. Immigration has thus maintained, numerically and culturally, the existence of the Jews in Central and Western Europe.

(c) *Internal Migrations*

Migrations within the territory of the same country are of importance only where there are local differences in the cultural and economic level, and where the migrations show a definite trend. This was the case of the Jewish migrations in Germany and Russia.

In Germany they were specially marked in Prussia. The Jewry of the Polish provinces, acquired by Prussia between 1772 and 1815, turned its face to the West. Even in 1837, of the 145,364 Prussian Jews, 101,152, *i.e.* 70 per cent, still inhabited the former Polish provinces, the ancestral home of a majority of all Prussian Jews. In 1871 the Jews inhabiting the five Eastern provinces—East and West Prussia, Pomerania, Posnania, and Silesia—formed 31·8 per cent of German Jewry; in 1890, 24·8; and in 1910, only 17·4. When in 1919 most of Posnania and West Prussia, and part of Upper Silesia, passed under Polish rule, the vast majority of their Jews emigrated to Germany. While originally the provinces of Germany neighbouring on Poland had the highest percentage of Jews, a wide zone with very few Jewish inhabitants now intervenes between the German and the Polish Jewries. In 1925, 22,535 Jews inhabited

Pomerania, East Prussia, and the parts of West Prussia and Posnania which remain with Germany, and 40,022 Silesia. The Jews leaving the Eastern provinces went foremost to Berlin (where their number rose from 47,489 in 1871 to 181,114 in 1925), and also to the Rhine Province and Saxony, industrial areas in which the Jewish and the non-Jewish population alike strongly increased by immigration. Both industry and the greater chances in commerce, due to a denser population, attracted the Jews to these districts.

Between 1830 and 1870, more than 50,000 Russian Jews migrated to the Danubian principalities (Moldavia and Valachia), which nominally belonged to Turkey but were under Russian influence; these immigrants formed the stock of the Jewish population of the later Kingdom of Roumania. In the nineteenth century, considerable numbers of Jews from the Polish, Lithuanian, and White Russian governments migrated to the New Russian provinces, then opened up in the Southern Ukraine. Odessa became the third largest Jewish city of pre-War Russia (after Warsaw and Lodz). Since the laws restricting the residence of Jews to the "Pale of Settlement" were abolished during the War, considerable numbers have moved into the interior of Russia, reaching even Manchuria (Kharbin) and the Chinese ports (Shanghai).

While in 1897, of the Jews living within the present frontiers of Russia, only 9·7 per cent inhabited Central Russia, by 1923 their number had risen to 18·1, and by 1926 to 22 per cent. In Central Russia, Moscow and Leningrad attract the largest Jewish immigration. In Moscow their number rose from 8743 in 1897 to 86,171 in 1923 and 131,244 in 1926; for Leningrad the figures were 20,484, 52,374, and 84,480.[1] In the Ukraine, between 1897 and

[1] The increase is even greater than indicated by these figures, as those only rank as Jews in Soviet Russia who choose to declare themselves Jews by nationality; while many, who professed the Jewish religion and therefore ranked as Jews in Tsarist Russia, now appear as Russians.

1926, the number of Jews increased at Kiev from 32,093 to 140,256, and at Kharkov from a few thousand to 81,830. Early in 1933 the Soviet Government tried to stop the influx into the cities of "undesirables", *i.e.* non-labour elements, and even to expel those settled in them.

(4) The Search for New Outlets for Emigration

During the first years after immigration to the United States had been severely curtailed, it was hoped that other countries, especially Canada and South America, would, to a considerable extent, replace it as outlets for emigrants. Indeed, during the years 1925–1930 it proved possible to divert at least half of the big stream, which had hitherto flowed to the United States, into small channels leading to various countries. But owing to the world-wide economic crisis, no country is now willing to admit an influx of foreign labour, and thus the openings for emigration have been very much reduced.

The prospect of increased emigration in the near future is small. At the very best, years will pass before the countries which in the past have been open to immigrants will have absorbed their own unemployed, and before a shortage of labour will result in a revision of the official immigration policy. But even then there is no room for high hopes unless the United States reopen its gates. The Argentine, Brazil, and Uruguay, together with Canada, South Africa, Australia, and Palestine, have a joint population of 70 millions, while the United States had in 1920 one of 106 millions, and in 1930, of 122 millions. As the Jews engage almost exclusively in commerce, industry, and handicrafts, and depend for their markets on the non-Jewish population, the United States, with its larger population, was able to absorb a greater Jewish immigration than all these other countries together. Moreover, conditions in the United States were

much more favourable for Jewish immigration, as a highly developed industry supplied raw materials and half-manufactures for the finishing trades, in which the Jews specialize; further, the enormous growth of the cities offered extensive possibilities to the Jews in commerce, in real estate, and in the entertainment trades (cinemas, theatres, concerts, restaurants, etc.); lastly, in the United States, especially before the great influx of Italians began, the Jews met with no competition from cheap labour, but much rather could underbid the wages of American labour without reducing the standard of living to which they themselves were accustomed. The occupation of pedlars, street traders, small shopkeepers, and tailors, in which so many of the poor, or relatively poor, Jewish immigrants had found their economic "start" in America, are now overcrowded and offer few chances to new immigrants.

It seems that there are no countries left in the world, hitherto untouched by Jewish immigration, which are fit to receive it. Chile, Peru, Bolivia, etc., have been suggested, but are hardly suitable, for climatic and economic reasons.

Palestine is an exception, as there part of the Jewish immigration can be placed in agriculture which, because of its importance for the Jewish National Home, is in higher esteem than elsewhere. The excellent returns from orange groves, which form the principal branch of Palestinian agriculture, combined with the national appeal of Palestine, attract Jewish capital. Also industry develops, and it differs from Jewish industry elsewhere in that not the manufacturers and office staffs only, but also the technical managers and workmen are Jews. If the present favourable economic development of the country continues, Palestine, which in 1933 received about 12,500 Jewish immigrants, will be able to absorb more than half of the total Jewish emigration. The Government is bound under the Mandate to promote Jewish immigration within the limits of the economic absorptive capacity of the country.

Internal migrations have the advantage, as against movements across frontiers, that they do not, as a rule, require official permission, but are of importance for the Jews in Eastern Europe only in so far as these are at present unevenly distributed within the country, as *e.g.* in Soviet Russia. The migration in the last ten years of a few hundred thousand Jews from the Ukraine and White Russia to Central Russia[1]—which movement still continues—has undoubtedly benefited both the migrants, who have improved their economic position, and also those who have remained behind, and gained elbow room. These internal migrations would be even greater were it not that, outside of Moscow and Leningrad, the Jews do not find it easy, in the absence of old-established Jewish communities, to gain a foothold in Central Russia, where moreover in handicrafts they encounter a much greater competition from non-Jewish artisans than in the old Pale of Settlement.

To sum up: the period of Jewish mass-migrations, which in the last fifty years have reshaped Jewish life, must, for the present, be regarded as closed. Emigration can at the utmost remove from Eastern Europe thirty to forty thousand Jews a year, *i.e.* only one-third of their natural increase. It is an open question whether under these conditions the economic position of the Jews in Eastern Europe, and especially in Poland—which in the last fifty years emigration alone rendered tolerable—can be preserved from a catastrophic collapse. The situation has been further aggravated by the change which the Nazi régime has effected in the civic and economic status of the German Jews. A very large number have lost their basis of existence and there is no escape for them either except in emigration.

[1] White Russia sends forth emigrants, Central Russia receives them, while the Ukraine receives immigrants from White Russia and sends forth emigrants to Central Russia. Between 1923 and 1926, the number of Jews in White Russia decreased by 3·8 per cent, while in the Ukraine it increased by 6·1, and in Central Russia by 18 per cent.

CHAPTER V

THE BIRTH-RATE

(1) Historical Retrospect

Until recently it was assumed that the Jews multiplied very quickly, indeed quicker than other nations. Even ancient writers were unanimous in emphasizing their great fertility. Tacitus referred to it as a characteristic feature of the Jews, while Hecataeus of Abdera (190 B.C.), who became acquainted with them in Egypt, wrote that, in contrast to the Greeks and other nations, and in conformity with the prescripts of their own religion, they brought up all their children, attaining thereby considerable numbers. In fact, the natural increase of the Jews in ancient times must have been very considerable, or Judaea could not have sent forth millions of emigrants into all the countries of the Near East.

In the Middle Ages the Jews suffered enormous losses through persecutions, expulsions, and conversions, through a high mortality in the unhygienic ghettos, and the uncertainty of their legal and economic position. The birth-rate was very high, but so was infantile mortality; many women bore ten and more children, but seldom did half of them survive childhood. Also the adult death-rate was high. Acclimatization to Europe and residence in ghettos claimed a heavy toll of lives among the Jews; millions died of diseases unknown in the Near East, or which take there an easy course, but are serious in Europe.

No reliable data are available concerning Jewish vital statistics during the earlier centuries, but certain deductions can be drawn from the corresponding figures for the

non-Jewish urban populations, even though these lived in more favourable circumstances than the Jews. As late as the eighteenth century the general death-rate in London, Paris, and Berlin still amounted to 40 per thousand, and was at the best equalled by the birth-rate; an increase in the town population could only be attained through an influx from the villages, where mortality was not quite as high as in the towns, which at that time were rightly looked upon as graveyards of the population. But in Western and Central Europe the Jews were confined to towns, and had no human reserves in the villages, which explains why for centuries their numbers hardly increased in the German ghettos; and this is still the case in the Jewish quarters in Morocco, Syria, and Mesopotamia, where medieval conditions continue. The position of the Jews was more favourable in Poland, where most of them inhabited villages and small towns.

While unable to cope with the high death-rate, the Jews continued to value large families. Grotjahn emphasizes that, in contrast to other nations of the ancient world, which practised infanticide or abortion on a large scale, the Jews abhorred such practices and viewed large families as a blessing.[1] It was by following the Jews that the Christian Churches and European nations came to value large families. This enabled the European States to preserve their numbers during the Middle Ages, and subsequently to colonize newly discovered continents, while increasing their own population.

When, in the nineteenth century, hygienic conditions improved in the towns, and the Jews were freed from the economic and legal restrictions of the Middle Ages, their death-rate, especially their infantile death-rate, declined, and their numbers increased rapidly, rising from about $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions in 1800 to $10\frac{1}{2}$ millions in 1900. The rate of increase became even greater in the twentieth century, the

[1] *Die Hygiene der menschlichen Fortpflanzung* (Berlin, 1926), p. 42.

number of Jews reaching a total of 13·2 millions in 1914, since when the growth has slowed down, both in relative and in absolute figures. In spite of the higher aggregate number of the Jews, their natural increase for the eighteen years 1915–1932 is only equal to that for the fourteen years 1901–1914, namely, 2,700,000, so that their total number amounted to nearly 16 millions at the end of 1933.

In rough outlines the change in the natural increase of the Jews since the seventeenth century appears as follows, the figures giving the average yearly rate per thousand:

Period.	Approximate Birth-Rate.	Approximate Death-Rate.	Approximate Natural Increase.
1650–1750 . . .	45	40	5
1750–1800 . . .	40	30	10
1800–1850 . . .	40	25	15
1850–1900 . . .	35	20	15
1901–1905 . . .	33	15	18
1906–1910 . . .	32	15	17
1911–1914 . . .	30	14	16
1921–1925 . . .	24	13	11
1926–1930 . . .	21	12	9
1932	18	10	8

It must, however, be remembered that these totals apply to world-Jewry. During the last one hundred years, both the birth-rate and the death-rate were lower in Western and Central than in Eastern Europe; but as the main body of Jewry inhabited Eastern Europe, it was they who had the determining influence on the aggregate figures. The rapid decline in the birth-rate, which marks a break with the traditional fertility maintained through the ages, is the most striking feature of Jewish vital statistics at the present time. While the curve marking the growth of the Jewish population ascended till 1905, a decline set in during the next quinquennium, and by 1930 the natural increase had fallen from 18 to 8 per thousand. The advance of 150 years was lost in 25 years.

(2) The Decline of the Birth-Rate among Jews and non-Jews in Modern Times

The decline in the birth-rate is not limited to the Jews. During the last one hundred years, with every European nation the curve of its birth-rate remained more or less stationary at first, but subsequently showed a marked downward trend. The turning-point was reached first by the most advanced nations: by France during the decade of 1811 to 1820; by Great Britain, the Scandinavian countries, Holland, and Germany, between 1870 and 1880; by the Balkan States and Portugal, after 1900; by other nations, only since the War; by the Jews of Western and Central Europe between 1860 and 1870, and of Eastern Europe between 1890 and 1900. With the Oriental Jews the turning-point has not been reached even now, but their high birth-rate is balanced by a high death-rate.

The best example of the declining Jewish birth-rate is supplied by Prussia,[1] where—

During	1822–40	it amounted to	35·5	per thousand.
,,	1841–66	,,	34·7	,,
,,	1878–82	,,	30·0	,,
,,	1888–92	,,	23·7	,,
,,	1898–1902	,,	19·7	,,
,,	1913	,,	15·0	,,
,,	1924	,,	14·6	,,
,,	1926	,,	12·0	,,
,,	1928	,,	10·5	,,
,,	1929	,,	9·1	,,

Thus in 1929 the birth-rate was less than one-third of what it had been fifty years earlier. By the end of the century

[1] In calculating the birth-rate, death-rate, and that of the natural increase, I refer the absolute figures for each year to those of the population enumerated at the preceding census, and not to the estimates of the population for that particular year, because such estimates are inaccurate especially with regard to the Jews; and having to choose between two methods, neither free of error, I preferred the former.

the family with only two children had come to prevail, and by now families with one child, or without children, are common.

Similarly in Bavaria the Jewish birth-rate has dropped from 28·9 during the five years 1880–1884, to 9·4 in 1927. In Vienna it amounted—

In 1880 to 28·0 per 1000.
„ 1926 „ 8·5 „
„ 1929 „ 6·5 „
„ 1930 „ 5·9 „

The birth-rate of 5·9 represents a low level so far unique in the world. As in 1929 the Jewish death-rate in Vienna was 13·2, Vienna Jewry is moving towards extinction.

Also in other countries the Jewish birth-rate has suffered a very marked decline during the last fifty years. It dropped—

In Russia from 34·4 during 1896–1900 to 24·1 in 1926.
„ Hungary „ 36·8 „ 1881–1885 „ 12·0 „ 1929.
„ Bulgaria „ 37·6 „ 1901–1905 „ 17·5 „ 1929.
„ Roumania „ 46·5 „ 1878–1882 „ 15·8 „ 1930.
„ Galicia „ 40·4 „ 1896–1900 „ 20·0 „ 1929.

Table VI shows that, roughly speaking, the Jewish birth-rate decreases from East to West; it declines with the disappearance of the old Jewish culture and tradition. Czechoslovakia supplies a striking example: in 1929, the birth-rate of the progressive, educated Jews of Moravia was only 8·0, but of the pious, old-fashioned Jews of Carpatho-Russia 33·1 per thousand. The low level of the Jewish birth-rate in Central and Western Europe, and its relatively high level in Eastern Europe, the Near East, and with the East European immigrants in the United States is at present the outstanding feature of Jewish vital statistics. But even in Eastern Europe the Jewish birth-rate has dropped considerably since the beginning of the century; and as the decline continues, it seems likely that the difference between Central and Eastern Europe will disappear.

The crude or "uncorrected" birth-rate is calculated by referring the figure of births to that of the total population.

TABLE VI

Birth-Rate with Jews and Non-Jews

Country or City.	Period.	Birth-Rate per 1000.	
		Jews.	Non-Jews.
Prussia	1822–1837	35·4	40·1
,,	1900	19·5	36·3
,,	1927	11·1	19·5
,,	1929	9·1	19·1
Bavaria	1927–1929	9·8	21·1
Hungary	1900	33·8	39·3
,,	1926	13·0	28·1
,,	1929	12·0	25·8
Vienna	1929	6·5	9·4
Galicia	1907	35·5	41·0
Poland	1929	20·0	31·1
Soviet Russia	1896–1897	35·9	50·2
,,	1926	24·6	43·3
Bohemia	1929	8·8*	17·0*
Moravia and Silesia	1929	8·0*	19·7*
Slovakia	1929	17·6*	27·0*
Carpatho-Russia	1929	33·1*	37·6*
Bulgaria	1925–1928	22·2	35·0
,,	1929	17·5	31·8
Roumania	1930	15·8	35·3
Lithuania	1930	14·1	26·4
Latvia	1930	16·1	20·1
Palestine	1931	32·6	49·4
Tunis	1930	35·1	35·2
Berlin	1925	11·9	11·7
,,	1929	8·1	10·9
Budapest	1927	9·4	18·4
,,	1929	9·1	19·6
Warsaw	1929	15·0	19·5
Lodz	1929	14·1	30·6
New York City†	1932	17·5	16·5

* These percentages are calculated by relating the births in 1929 to the figures of population enumerated at the census of 1930.

† According to Dr. Julius Mahler, of Columbia University, New York.

But when, as now in Western and Central Europe, in consequence of a reduction both in the birth- and death-rates, the higher age-divisions, *i.e.* those of a procreative age, come to form a larger percentage of the population, the extent of the decline in fertility is not fully shown. Substituting for the crude birth-rate the fertility-rate in marriage (the number of births within the year to every 1000 married women between the ages of 15 and 45) it will be found that in Berlin that rate has declined from 254 in 1880, to only 65 in 1925; *i.e.* while in 1880 every fourth married woman between 15 and 45 years of age had a child, in 1925 only one in fifteen.

(3) The Rationalization of Life as a Cause of the Decline in the Birth-Rate

There are various causes for the decline of the birth-rate. The biological factor enters only in so far as at present the greater prevalence of venereal diseases increases sterility; it is not known whether in this regard there is any difference between Jews and non-Jews. The percentage of still-born children has not risen, but rather diminished.[1] More importance attaches to social than to biological factors. The transfer of labour from agriculture to industry, and the migration from the villages to the towns, where children start earning later and are longer a burden upon their parents, is one reason for the smaller size of families—a growth of the urban population results in a reduction of the general birth-rate. Further, in the last two generations the standard of living and the scale of expenditure have risen more particularly in the towns, and people tend to save where it is

[1] With the Jews, the percentage of still-born among the legitimate children is everywhere smaller than with the non-Jews, but is often larger among the illegitimate children. It nowhere exceeds 6 per cent of the aggregate births, and in most cases is only 2-4 per cent; its influence on the birth-rate is therefore small.

easiest, *i.e.* on the number of children. Economic rationalism and self-indulgence grow with economic ease, and with it the reluctance to produce large families. "Reason is the greatest enemy of the child", writes Johannes Mueller, "for the child, from the strictly rational point of view, is an uneconomic investment; it disturbs the domestic peace, is a drag on professional advancement, and interferes with pleasures."[1]

The use of contraceptives started with the educated and wealthy classes in the big towns and in the more advanced countries, was gradually adopted by the upper classes of backward countries, but takes a long time in reaching the masses. It has spread from Western and Central to Eastern Europe. Among the non-Jews of Budapest the birth-rate of to-day corresponds to that of Berlin in 1890, in Warsaw to that of Berlin in 1880.

Birth-control in marriage cannot be described off-hand as a sign of degeneracy. Where it remains within certain limits or is of a eugenic character—in the case of parents who are sick or not in a position to bring up a large family —it is socially advantageous as it prevents the community from being burdened with children who are sickly or insufficiently provided for by their parents. Such a qualitative improvement of the race can compensate, or even more than compensate, the nation for the loss in numbers. It is different where birth-control predominates among the physically and socially most valuable strata, or where it reaches such a degree that the number of births no longer equals that of deaths, and the nation is threatened with gradual extinction.

With the Jews, class divisions are of such recent date and so obviously determined by external factors, especially the condition of the country which they inhabit, that racial characteristics do not differ to any marked extent with the

[1] In the *Handwoerterbuch der Staatswissenschaften* under "Geburtenrückgang", vol. iv. (Jena, 1927).

social strata, and given better conditions, the lower classes attain the mental level of the present upper strata. In other words, the Jews of Central and Western Europe do not possess racial qualities non-existent among those of Eastern Europe, and their low birth-rate does not therefore impair the general mental level of world-Jewry. But in certain countries birth-control among the Jews is so severe that their numbers decline, and there is the danger of gradual extinction; and though this applies also to the non-Jews in the cities of Western and Central Europe, they at least, in contrast to the Jews, have considerable human reserves in their agricultural population.

There is no reason to suppose that the drop in the Jewish birth-rate will be either stopped or reversed. The methods usually suggested for maintaining the birth-rate (tax-relief, or educational subsidies from public funds) are not likely to succeed, as only a fraction of the expenditure which falls on the parents can thus be covered. We have to accept the fact that the present rationalization of life extends to the number of children.

(4) Causes of the Difference in the Birth-Rates of the Jews and the Non-Jews

(a) *Influence of City Life*

A comparison of the birth-rates of the Jews and the non-Jews in Table VI shows that, though in Europe the decline has been universal during the last fifty years, the birth-rate still remains everywhere higher among the non-Jews than among the Jews.[1] This is due to the overwhelmingly urban character of the Jewish population, the rationalization of life being most marked in the cities. The birth-rate was—

[1] The higher Jewish birth-rate in New York City is due to the great number of young people among the immigrants, and to their proletarian character.

	In Berlin (1929)	In Prussia, without Berlin (1929).	In Budapest (1929).	In Hungary, without Budapest (1929).	In Warsaw (1927).	In Poland, without Warsaw (1927).
With the Jews .	8·1	12·7	9·1	13·8	16·8	20·3
„ „ non-Jews	10·9	20·7	19·6	26·2	23·8	37·1

The difference in the birth-rate between the capital and the rest of the country is smaller with the Jews, because also outside the capitals they are mainly city-dwellers.

(b) *Middle Classes and Proletariat*

In most countries the economic and educational level of the Jews is, on the whole, superior to that of their neighbours, and everywhere the birth-rate is now highest among the poor. In the big towns of Central Europe, however, the difference has diminished in the course of the last thirty or forty years; in Hamburg, in 1890–1894, the birth-rate in the rich district of Harvestehude was 24·5 per cent, and in the poor district of Billwaerder-Ausschlag 49·9, while the corresponding figures for 1926 were 10·4 and 13·7. With the political and cultural rise the industrial labour classes, whose birth-rate largely determines that of the cities, have shown, of recent years, a tendency to practise birth-control almost as much as the middle classes.

(c) *Celibacy and Late Marriages*

(i) *Celibacy.*—The birth-rate is reduced still further by celibacy and late marriages. As shown in Table VII, the marriage-rate is everywhere lower with the Jews than the non-Jews; and the difference is even greater than would appear from these figures, as children form a smaller percentage of the Jewish population, which thus includes a higher proportion of persons of marriageable age. The percentage of those unmarried in the various age-groups among Jews and non-Jews supplies a more reliable standard of comparison.

TABLE VII

MARRIAGES*

Country or City.	Year.	Number of Marriages.	
		To every 1000 Jews.	To every 1000 Non-Jews.
Germany	1930	6·5	9·0
Prussia	1929	6·8	9·6
Berlin	1929	7·3	9·5
Vienna	1929	6·6	9·3
Hungary	1929	9·3	10·1
Budapest	1929	9·3	11·3
Czechoslovakia†	1928	7·9	10·2
Poland	1929	6·6	9·5
Soviet Russia	1924–26	7·6	9·3
Lithuania	1930	6·2	7·7
Latvia	1930	9·3	9·0
Roumania	1928	8·7	9·2
	1930	6·2	9·4
Bulgaria	1929	7·9	10·2

* Of the mixed marriages one-half is assigned to the Jews, and the other half to the non-Jews.

† These figures relate to those who have declared themselves Jews or Czechoslovaks by "nationality", this word being taken in its racial or linguistic, and not in its civic sense.

In Prussia, in 1925, the percentage of the unmarried was in all the age-groups higher among male Jews than non-Jews; in those of 25–30, 30–35, and 35–40, 67·8, 40·7, and 25·6 per cent of the Jews were unmarried, while the corresponding figures for the aggregate population were 45·3, 19·6, and 10·6 per cent. Similarly in all the age-groups the percentage of the unmarried was higher among the Jewish than the non-Jewish women. Altogether, of all the male Jews about 8 per cent remained unmarried, of the non-Jews about 6; of all Jewish women about 15 per cent, and of non-Jewish women about 9. In Hamburg, in 1925, the percentage of the unmarried was much higher among the male Jews than the non-Jews, especially in the age-groups

up to 40. On the contrary, among the Jewish women the percentage of the unmarried was smaller up to 30, and greater over 30, than among the non-Jewish women. With the Jews, 10 per cent of the men and 17 per cent of the women remained unmarried; with the non-Jews, 8 per cent and 10 per cent.

On the other hand, in Lithuania, which is typical of Eastern Europe, the number of the unmarried was smaller among the Jews than the Lithuanians; above the age of 40, with the Jews 2·6 per cent of the men and 1·8 of the women were unmarried, with the Lithuanians 7·5 and 11·5. Here the old Jewish tradition still prevails that every Jew and every Jewess should marry. Similarly among the Jews in Carpatho-Russia, in 1921, in the age-group of 40–45 only 4 per cent of the men and 2 per cent of the women were unmarried, whereas with the Jews of Bohemia the corresponding figures were 13·6 and 18·2. In Carpatho-Russia hardly any Jewish girls remain single, in Bohemia the age-group of 45–50 still contains 9·2 per cent spinsters.

(ii) *Age at Marriage.*—Figures are available concerning the age at marriage of Jews and non-Jews in Lodz, Warsaw, Budapest, and Lithuania. Of every 100 men contracting marriage there were in—

	Lodz (1929).		Warsaw (1929).		Budapest (1929).		Lithuania (1927).	
	Jews.	Non-Jews.	Jews.	Non-Jews.	Jews.	Non-Jews.	Jews.	Non-Jews.*
Under 25 years .	24·4	45·8	20·1	38·2	13·3	21·3	26·1	50·2
25 and under 30 .	43·2	32·0	41·6	33·4	32·6	35·1	37·5	26·5
30 „ „ 40 .	24·7	13·3	30·0	17·7	34·2	27·5	24·8	16·7
40 and above .	7·7	8·9	8·3	10·7	19·9	16·1	11·6	6·6

* These figures relate only to non-Jews of Lithuanian race.

Thus the marriage-age was everywhere much higher with the Jews than the non-Jews.

Of every 100 women at the time of marriage there were in—

	Lodz (1929).		Warsaw (1929).		Budapest (1929).		Lithuania (1927).	
	Jews.	Non-Jews.	Jews.	Non-Jews.	Jews.	Non-Jews.	Jews.	Non-Jews.
Under 25 . .	36·4	63·2	34·2	55·9	41·9	43·5	25·6	42·4
25 and under 30 .	35·1	19·7	36·8	23·0	26·9	25·1	29·6	35·3
30 „ „ 40 .	24·6	12·0	24·9	15·4	21·3	22·7	31·7	15·7
40 and above .	3·9	5·1	4·1	5·7	9·9	8·7	13·1	6·6

Here, too, the age at marriage among the Jews was considerably higher. In 1927, the average age at marriage was—

		In Warsaw.	In Lodz.
Among the non-Jews	men	27·1 years	28·8 years.
	women	24·6 „	25·2 „
„ „ Jews	men	29·0 „	29·9 „
	women	27·3 „	27·8 „

Thus in Warsaw the age at marriage was higher with the Jews by about two years for the men and two and a half years for the women; at Lodz the differences were slightly smaller.

Therefore also the average age at child-birth is higher with the Jewish than the non-Jewish women; in 1927, in Warsaw the respective figures were 30·7 and 27. At the birth of the first child the average age of the mother was 26·9 among the Jews, and 24·5 among the non-Jews.

According to Theilhaber,[1] among the Berlin Jews—

The average age of the Jewish mother at the birth of the first child was 27 years.

The average age of the Jewish mother at the birth of the second child was 29 years.

The average age of the Jewish father at the birth of the first child was 32½ years.

The average age of the Jewish father at the birth of the second child was 34 years.

Compared with the early part of the nineteenth century,

[1] "Bevölkerungsvorgänge bei den Berliner Juden" in the *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden*, 1926, pp. 48 ff.

when most Jewesses married at 16–20, and most Jews at 18–24, and had children, the average age of the Jewish parents at the birth of their first child has increased by 7–8 years for the women, and by 10–11 years for the men.

(iii) *Illegitimate Children.*—The smaller number of illegitimate children among the Jews than the non-Jews helps to reduce their birth-rate. Contraception naturally plays an important part. Table VIII shows that the percentage of illegitimate children among the Jews is, in most

TABLE VIII

ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS

Country or City.	Year.	Of a Jewish Mother.	Of a Non-Jewish Mother.
Prussia . .	1929	6·00	10·50
Bavaria . .	1926 and 1927	1·61	15·39
Hungary . .	1929	2·34	8·88
Latvia* . .	1930	2·72	8·44
Bulgaria . .	1929	0·48	1·50
Berlin . .	1929	7·75	18·53
Frankfort o/M. .	1927–1929	6·00	15·12
Vienna . .	1925	6·28	24·16
Budapest . .	1929	4·04	22·24
Lodz . . .	1929	6·49	4·70
Warsaw . .	1927	9·19	8·81

* These figures relate only to children born alive.

cases, only one-fourth or one-third of what it is among the non-Jews. The exceptions in the case of Lodz and Warsaw are only apparent, certain Jewish religious marriages, and therefore also their offspring, not being recognized as legitimate by Polish law.

The smaller number of illegitimate children among the Jews is due, in the first place, to the influence of religion, in so far as it still retains a hold on its members in Eastern Europe. In previous centuries, when the entire life of the

Jews was dominated by religion, which condemned most severely illicit intercourse, illegitimate births were practically unknown. In Prussia the percentage of illegitimate children is lower among the Roman Catholics than among the Protestants, owing to the great influence which the Roman Catholic priests have on the private lives of their parishioners. In many cases, from fear of the Church, the Roman Catholic will marry the woman whom he has rendered pregnant.

The degree of condemnation of illegitimate children varies with the social class of the mother, and is much stronger in the middle than in the lower classes. As in the countries where religion has lost its hold on the Jews, they mostly belong to the middle classes, the moral code of their class replaces the barriers elsewhere maintained by religion.

CHAPTER VI

MORTALITY

(1) The Death-Rate among Jews and Non-Jews

In recent times progress in medicine and hygiene has led to a considerable reduction in the death-rate. Thus, *e.g.* smallpox, which in the eighteenth century was still responsible for about 10 per cent of all deaths, has been practically stamped out by vaccination. Prussia may serve as example for the reduction in mortality; its death-rate per thousand was—

	Among the non-Jews.	Among the Jews.
In 1822–1837 . . .	29·8	22·0
„ 1876–1880 . . .	25·5	17·6
„ 1886–1890 . . .	24·0	16·0
„ 1896–1900 . . .	21·3	14·2
„ 1906–1910 . . .	17·3	13·9
„ 1913 . . .	14·9	13·7
„ 1924 . . .	12·0	14·1
„ 1926 . . .	11·7	13·6
„ 1927 . . .	12·1	14·1
„ 1928 . . .	11·8	14·1
„ 1929 . . .	12·9	15·4

Thus the death-rate in Prussia which, for a whole century, had steadily declined, has been on the increase with the Jews since 1924, and with the non-Jews since 1927. Until 1913, it was lower with the Jews than with the non-Jews, but it has since become higher—in 1929, 15·4 as against 12·9 per thousand. In Berlin, in 1929, the Jewish death-rate was 15·7 as against 13·3 with the non-Jews, and in Hamburg, in 1928, 16·3 as against 11·8. On the contrary, in

East European countries and Hungary, as appears from Table IX, the Jewish death-rate is lower; similarly in Amsterdam (for which unfortunately no figures are available for the post-War period) in 1908, the Jewish death-rate

TABLE IX

Death-Rate with the Jews and Non-Jews

Country or City.	Year.	Number of Deaths to every 1000	
		Jews.	Non-Jews.
Galicia . . .	1907	16·6	26·0
Poland . . .	1929	10·3	17·7
Roumania . . .	1930	10·1	19·7
Lithuania . . .	1930	9·6	15·4
Latvia . . .	1930	11·7	14·4
Hungary . . .	1929	13·7	17·9
Bohemia . . .	1929	15·2*	14·9*
Moravia and Silesia .	1929	14·3*	13·9*
Slovakia . . .	1929	12·9*	17·1*
Carpatho-Russia . .	1929	12·6*	19·7*
Czechoslovakia . .	1929	13·6*	15·3*
Bulgaria . . .	1891–1894	24·1	30·0
,, . . .	1904–1907	13·7	21·8
,, . . .	1925–1928	11·1	18·5
Prussia . . .	1929	15·4	12·9
Soviet Russia . .	1926	9·1	20·2
Lodz	1929	12·6	20·1
Warsaw . . .	1929	11·0	14·5
Budapest . . .	1929	15·0	18·8
Hamburg . . .	1928	16·3	11·8
Vienna . . .	1929	13·2	14·4
Berlin . . .	1929	15·7	13·3
Palestine . . .	1931	9·7	21·8
Morocco † . . .	1930	19·3	22·0
Tunis	1930	17·4	17·2
New York . . .	1932	8·5	10·4

* Those percentages are calculated on the population figures of 1930.

† The Moroccan statistics comprise only the native Jews and the Mohammedans in towns with municipal rights.

was lower than that of the total population—10·4 as against 13·3 per 1000. The Jewish death-rate now varies from 9·1 in Soviet Russia, 9·6 in Lithuania, and 9·7 in Palestine, to 15·0 in Budapest, 15·7 in Berlin, and 16·3 in Hamburg; in Tunis it is as high as 17·4, and in Morocco 19·3.

(2) Infantile Mortality

In previous times the first year was a most dangerous period in human life. In the Middle Ages about one-third of all infants died in their first year, and in Oriental countries conditions are not much better even now. Thus in Egypt, in 1925, 24·9 per cent of all infants died in the first year, and in Cairo even 34·1. In 1931, with the Mohammedans of Palestine infantile mortality amounted to 18·8, while in certain towns it rose as high as 30·8 per cent. Even in Prussia, during the thirty years 1875–1905, the infantile mortality of the aggregate population maintained a steady

TABLE X

Infantile Mortality

Country or City.	Year.	Birth-Rate (per thousand).		Infantile Mortality (per cent).	
		Jews.	Non-Jews.	Jews.	Non-Jews.
Bavaria . .	1926–1927	9·8	21·2	4·0	13·5
Soviet Russia .	1926	24·6	43·3	5·7	17·4
Lithuania .	1927	17·1	30·0	3·5	15·6
Latvia . .	1930	16·1	20·1	4·0	8·8
Hungary . .	1929	12·0	25·8	10·6	18·3
Poland . .	1927	20·0	37·0	7·3	15·3
Berlin . .	1929	8·1	10·9	4·0	8·7
Lodz . .	1929	14·1	30·6	14·6	17·6
Budapest . .	1929	9·1	19·6	6·9	14·5
Warsaw . .	1925	14·4	29·1	13·2	15·6
Palestine . .	1931	32·6	49·4	8·2	18·3
New York .	1932	17·5	16·5	4·2	5·7

level of 20·5 per cent, and its decline did not set in till 1900; but then it was so marked that by 1931 the infantile death-rate had sunk to 8·4 per cent. In Budapest, in 1875, it still amounted to 28·4, but by 1900 had dropped to 16·3.

In so far as reliable statistical data are available, during the nineteenth century the infantile mortality of the Jews was almost invariably lower than that of the non-Jews. In Prussia, during the years 1822–1837, 13·3 per cent of the Jewish children died in their first year, as against 18 per cent with the non-Jews. In Russia, in 1896–1897, the infantile mortality amounted to 13 per cent among the Jews, but to 26·8 among the total population. Besides progress in medicine and hygiene, the decline of the birth-rate, which set in earlier with the Jews than the non-Jews, was the chief cause of the further reduction of the infantile mortality. The smaller the number of children, the better the care which the parents can afford to give them, and the greater their chance of survival. Only in the last thirty years, with the rapid decline of the birth-rate, the infantile death-rate has dropped also with the non-Jews, but even so everywhere it still exceeds that of the Jews, as is shown in Table X. In Berlin, Bavaria, Latvia, and Lithuania, the Jewish infantile death-rate has sunk to the record level of the Scandinavian States and New Zealand—about 3 to 5 per cent. But while in the past the smaller infantile mortality among the Jews in Central and Eastern Europe stood in a sharp contrast to that of the non-Jews, and gave rise to the legend about a peculiarly strong vitality of Jewish children, it now appears that the Jews had merely anticipated their neighbours. What may, however, to some extent give Jewish children a better chance of survival, is the great care they receive from their mothers. If in an industrial town like Lodz, the Jewish infantile mortality is relatively high (14·6 per cent), this suggests extremely unhygienic conditions and great poverty among the Jewish population; still, the fact that, in 1929, with the Jews only 9·7 per cent

of deaths in the first year were due to diseases of the digestive tract, but with the Roman Catholics 16·3, and with the Lutherans 19·9, testifies to good care on the part of Jewish mothers.

(3) Age at Death

The lower numbers of births and deaths among the Jews have produced a very marked change in the age-incidence of death. A comparison of the years 1896–1897 with 1926 in the Ukraine shows that in each age-group there was to every 1000 Jewish inhabitants the following number of deaths:

	1896-1897.	1926.
Under 10 years of age . . .	30·7	15·2
10 and under 20 years of age . .	3·7	2·1
20 „ 40 „ „ . .	6·1	3·7
40 „ 60 „ „ . .	13·0	9·7
60 „ 70 „ „ . .	47·5	38·7
70 years of age and upwards . .	172·7	
In all age-groups	16·0	9·2

The decline in mortality was thus most marked in the age-group under 10, it having sunk by half between 1896–1897 and 1926.

A comparison of the age of the deceased among the Jews and non-Jews in the towns of Lodz, Warsaw, Budapest, Hamburg, and Berlin, in recent years, shows that in every 100 cases of death there were in—

	Berlin, 1929.		Hamburg, 1928.		Budapest, 1928.		Warsaw, 1928.		Lodz, 1929.	
	With the Jews.	Non-Jews.	Jews.	Non-Jews.	Jews.	Non-Jews.	Jews.	Non-Jews.	Jews.	Non-Jews.
Under 1 year .	2·5	7·2	2·6	9·4	4·9	14·0	17·2	20·9	17·8	27·2
50 years and upwards . .	..	..	77·2	60·5	68·0	40·3	53·1	45·1	45·5	31·3

Thus in Berlin, Hamburg, and Budapest the number of deaths in the first year of life was with the Jews only one-third of what it was with the non-Jews, while in Lodz and Warsaw the difference in favour of the Jews was much smaller. On the contrary, in Hamburg and Budapest (for Berlin the figures are not available) the number of deaths in the age-group of 50 and upwards is much larger with the Jews than with the non-Jews. Taking the above figures as basis for calculating the chances of survival, in Hamburg among the Jews 77·2 per cent had at birth a chance of reaching the age of fifty, among the non-Jews only 60·5. In Budapest the difference in favour of the Jews was even greater—68·0 as against 40·3. In Lodz and in Warsaw the corresponding figures were only 45·5 and 53·1, and the difference between Jews and non-Jews was much smaller. All along the differences are largely due to a smaller death-rate in infancy and childhood. A comparison of the life expectations of Jews and non-Jews at the age of ten or twenty would show a much smaller difference.

(4) Reasons for the Difference in the Mortality of Jews and Non-Jews

The following factors tend to explain the difference:

(*a*) The decline of the birth-rate set in earlier with the Jews than with the non-Jews, and to this day is more marked. As a result the absolute figure of deaths in the first year of life has decreased, and, as mortality is highest in infancy, this has considerably affected the aggregate Jewish death-rate.

(*b*) The better economic position of the Jews and their concentration in towns, which tend to secure better care and medical help in illness, have further reduced their death-rate. The Jews are always ready to call in the doctor, and are considered his best clientele. In Lodz, where they

form 34·5 per cent of the population, in 1928 they accounted for 59·1 per cent of the patients in the consulting-rooms of the municipal doctors.

(*c*) To some extent the lower mortality among the Jews is also due to the fact that, especially in Central and Western Europe, they engage less frequently in dangerous and unhygienic occupations, such as mining, the chemical industry, etc.

(*d*) But, after all, death can merely be deferred, and the very reduction of the death-rate at an earlier stage must necessarily result in a subsequent increase. The decline of the birth-rate, combined with a decrease in infantile and general mortality, has produced an upward trend in the age-distribution of the Jews. The lower ranges became attenuated, the higher relatively more numerous. In certain countries, *e.g.* in Prussia, the Jewish community shows an altogether abnormal age-distribution. The usual structure of a population resembles a pyramid of which the youngest age-group forms the base, while the later groups, through gradual dying off, contract towards the apex. "The downright grotesque abnormality of the age-distribution of the Jewish population of Prussia in 1925", writes Mr. Silbergleit, "is best illustrated by the fact that the age-group of those under five (who form 6·1 per cent of the total) is numerically exceeded by every quinquennial group up to sixty."[1] Among the Jews of German nationality there were only 19,223 children under five years, and 28,016 persons between forty-five and fifty. But an ageing population must necessarily pay a heavier toll to death than a youthful one. The Jews now repay to death what they had withheld from it in the previous fifty or sixty years. Their death-rate therefore rises most where it had previously been lowest, as, for instance, in Hamburg. It appears that with the German Jews the limit has already been exceeded

[1] *Die Bevölkerungs- und Berufsverhältnisse der Juden im Deutschen Reich*, vol. i. p. 61 (Berlin, 1930).

to which the death-rate can be reduced. Beginnings of a similar development are noticeable also among the non-Jews, and the Jewish statistics merely anticipate general developments.

(*e*) Another reason for the rise in the Jewish death-rate in Prussia is the fact that in the last thirty years a fair number of East European Jews have entered Prussia. With them the birth-rate and infantile mortality are higher, and therefore also the death-rate, which has its effect on the total death-rate of the Prussian Jews. In 1928, in the old districts of Berlin, harbouring many East European Jews, the Jewish infantile death-rate amounted to 4·3, in the new districts only to 2·5 per cent.

(5) Causes of Death

For the years 1921–1926 we possess statistical data concerning causes of death grouped by diseases for three cities with a Jewish population of over 150,000—Warsaw, Lodz, and Budapest.[1] In all the three towns it is found that a smaller number of deaths is caused among the Jews than among the non-Jews by infectious diseases, diseases of the digestive tract, congenital debility, and disorders and diseases of pregnancy and parturition. There is no marked difference between Jews and non-Jews in the death-rate caused by diseases of the respiratory system. As for disorders of the circulation (especially heart diseases and arterio-sclerosis), urinary and non-contagious sexual diseases, diabetes, and nephritis, the incidence is higher with the Jews than the non-Jews. An inquiry carried through by the Bureau of Jewish Social Research in New York has shown that of every 100,000 individuals there died of—

[1] For details see my book, *Soziologie der Juden*, vol. i. p. 255 and ff. (Berlin, 1930).

	With the Jews of Greater New York, 1925.	With the Total Population of the United States, 1923.
Heart Diseases . .	191·3	180·7
Cancer	93·6	94·3
Pneumonia . . .	84·8	93·9
Nephritis . . .	40·6	86·7
Tuberculosis . . .	36·5	86·3
Diabetes . . .	24·7	17·2
Suicide	10·5	12·2
Apoplexy . . .	8·7	85·6
Childbed diseases . .	7·6	14·4
Sexual diseases . .	3·6	15·5

The picture does not change much if the comparison is limited to the age-groups of 15–45. There are undoubtedly certain differences in the causes of death between Jews and non-Jews, but it is difficult to say to what extent they are caused by an inborn power of resistance to certain diseases, and in how far by a different distribution between age-groups and by social factors. Differences in the power of resistance to certain diseases, which medicine has established as between individuals, are possible also as between groups, and in countries of the moderate zone the comparatively greater pigmentation of the Jews may play a part. The effect of age on differences in the causes of death is obvious, but while the statistics of certain towns make it possible to eliminate this source of error and to compare the same age-groups among Jews and non-Jews, data concerning housing, economic conditions, and nutrition are scanty. Only if the comparison were made between the same age-groups, engaged in the same occupation, enjoying the same income, and living under the same conditions, would it be possible to say with certainty in how far the prevalence of certain diseases is caused by differences in the power of resistance to them.

Koralnik has analysed the incidence of death from typhus, typhoid fever, diphtheria, scarlet-fever, measles,

and dysentery, during the post-War years, in the towns of Warsaw, Lodz, Cracow, Lemberg, Budapest, Riga, and Leningrad,[1] and has reached the conclusion that the smaller mortality among the Jews caused by these epidemics was due to better conditions of housing and nutrition, to their more hygienic habits, and their greater inclination to summon medical help. He differentiates between epidemics transferable by personal contact only, *e.g.* typhus, and those which can be transferred by food and air, and shows, by analysing their incidence in different parts of Warsaw, that in the first case a decisive part is played by the ratio of population to housing, in the second by economic conditions and understanding of hygiene.

With regard to diabetes, Noorden and Stern have both found that its incidence is more frequent with wealthy Jews, while among poor Jews it is the same as among poor non-Jews.[2] Thus the greater incidence of diabetes with the Jews is probably caused not by a difference of race, but either by the more luxurious life of the well-to-do classes, or by their being engaged to a greater extent in intellectual work which, through nervous tension, has an influence on the glands with internal secretion.

With regard to tuberculosis, the statistics of Vienna, Budapest, Lodz, and Warsaw, for the years 1924, 1925, and 1926, show that it is the cause of about 10 per cent of deaths among the Jews, which incidence is only half of what it is with the non-Jews. Also in New York, in 1925, mortality from tuberculosis in all the age-groups was much smaller among the Jews than among the non-Jews. There died of tuberculosis in the age-groups most exposed to it—

[1] "Zu der Frage der Todesursachen bei Juden" in the (Yiddish) *Schriften für Wirtschaft und Statistik*, vol. i. p. 133 (Berlin, 1928).

[2] See Szyfmann, "Über die Zuckerkrankheit bei den Juden", in the *Ose Rundschau* (Berlin, October 1928).

Age.	Of every 100,000 Jews in New York.	Of every 100,000 of the Total Population of the United States.
15–25 . .	50·5	274·1
25–35 . .	38·0	154·8
35–45 . .	48·2	139·2
45–55 . .	77·7	129·0

In Lodz, of every 100 deaths, there were caused by tuberculosis—

	With the Jews.	With the non-Jews.
1919 . .	24·6	27·2
1923 . .	12·4	18·8
1926 . .	13·6	21·6
1928 . .	10·0	22·2
1929 . .	10·1	21·4

Thus even the decline in the death-rate from tuberculosis between 1919 and 1929 was much stronger among the Jews than the non-Jews. In Budapest, where the Jews formed 21·5 per cent of the population, in 1927, their share in deaths from tuberculosis was, in the age-groups of 15 to 45, as follows :

15–25 years of age . . .	10·3 per cent
25–30 ,, ,, . . .	10·1 ,,
30–35 ,, ,, . . .	8·8 ,,
35–40 ,, ,, . . .	9·1 ,,
40–50 ,, ,, . . .	11·6 ,,

Investigations in various countries have proved that the incidence of death from tuberculosis is connected with housing and the character of the occupation, and is therefore lower among the well-to-do classes; and the question therefore arises whether the lower incidence of mortality from tuberculosis among the Jews is entirely due to better social conditions or also to a higher inborn resistance to the disease. The latter is suggested by the fact that in Warsaw, in 1927, its incidence among the Jewish workers

in the clothing industry amounted, in spite of poverty and bad housing, to only 15·9 per cent of all deaths, whereas with the non-Jews in the same occupation it was 32 per cent; and that also in other branches of industry its incidence was smaller with Jewish than non-Jewish workers. Fishberg thinks that this greater power of resistance is due to the fact that tuberculosis is predominantly an urban disease, and that two thousand years of town life has by selection produced a higher resistance among the Jews.[1]

With regard to deaths from cancer with Jews and non-Jews, data are available for Warsaw, Lodz, Budapest, Vienna, and New York for the years 1921–1925.[2] Cancer is almost always a disease of the more advanced age, and as the percentage of children among the Jews is smaller, the incidence of cancer must naturally be greater. A comparison of the same age-groups with Jews and non-Jews in these towns shows that cancer of the uterus is rarer with the Jews, while in Eastern Europe other forms of cancer are equally frequent with Jews and non-Jews, and in New York are even more frequent with the Jews. It is possible that the difference is due to differences in the mode of living—*e.g.* the greater consumption of meat by the Jews. Here, too, racial peculiarities must not be excluded off-hand, though both Koralnik[3] and Sourasky[4] ascribe the smaller incidence of cancer among the Jews to social causes only.

(6) Suicides

Suicide, the refuge of the mentally unstable, was in the past practically unknown among the Jews, but of recent

[1] See *Die Rassenmerkmale der Juden*, p. 135 (Munich, 1913).

[2] For details see my book, *Soziologie der Juden*, vol. i. p. 269 and ff. (Berlin, 1930).

[3] *Op. cit.*

[4] *Studies in the New York Jewish Population* (p. 31), published by the Bureau of Jewish Social Research (New York, 1928).

times has become fairly common among them. There were to every 100,000 inhabitants the following numbers of suicides:

Country or City.	Year.	Jews.	Protestants.	Roman Catholics.
Prussia .	1911	31·5	26·1	10·8
,, .	1926	50·5	29·4	14·8
Bavaria .	1910	29·0	24·4	10·4
Berlin . .	1925	68·0	45·0	32·0
Hungary (without Budapest)	1929	27·8	Non-Jews. 33·2	
Budapest .	1929	106·3	192·8	
Bulgaria .	average for 1929 and 1930	22·0	8·6	
Lodz . .	1929	11·0	29·0	
Vienna .	1929	42·0	58·0	
Warsaw .	1927	17·0	44·0	
New York .	1925	23·0	79·0	

The number of suicides among the Jews was smallest in Warsaw and Lodz, where they are orthodox and adhere to the traditional Jewish mode of life—it was indeed smaller than among the non-Jews; so also in New York City, with its great mass of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe. On the contrary, in Central and Western Europe suicides are, as a rule, much more frequent among the Jews than the non-Jews.[1] To some extent this is due to the fact that suicides hardly ever occur below the age of fifteen, and in Central Europe that age-group is much more numerous among the non-Jews than among the Jews. But, on the other hand, Jewish girls living with their families are less exposed to illicit sexual intercourse, and cases of suicide

[1] In Budapest, however, the number of suicides among the non-Jews reaches a record level, and even exceeds their number among the Jews. Further, the difference between the number of suicides in Budapest and in the predominantly agricultural districts of Hungary, outside the capital, is striking.

because of pregnancy are much less frequent among them. In 1929 in Budapest women of the age of 15–30 committing suicide formed 10·4 per cent of suicides among the Jews and 27·9 among the non-Jews. But the chief cause of suicide is undoubtedly economic. As sudden reverses are more frequent in commerce than in other professions (*e.g.* agriculture), suicides are more common among those engaged in it, which the Jews are to quite a disproportionate extent. The same is true of the academic professions, in which the Jews are numerous, and in which stronger reactions to reverses and a higher code of honour lead to more frequent suicides.

CHAPTER VII

AGE AND NATURAL INCREASE

(1) AGE

THE age constitution, *i.e.* the percentage formed by the various age-groups among a population, is a resultant of the numbers born in successive years and their rates of survival. Where the birth-rate is high, the earliest age-groups are more strongly represented than where it is low. Where the death-rate is low, more people reach a high age. But in turn the age-distribution of a population greatly influences its birth- and death-rates. The smaller the number of men between 20 and 55, and of women between 15 and 45, *i.e.* of a reproductive age, the less is the birth-rate; and the greater the percentage of the people of an advanced age, the higher the death-rate.

With the Jews of Western and Central Europe, in view of the strong decline of their birth-rate and their low death-rate, the lower age-groups are comparatively small and the high ones very large—the opposite of what their relative proportions were in previous times.

Table XI shows that in 1808, among the Jews at Frankfort, 47·1 per cent were under 20 years of age, but of the Jews at Hamburg in 1925 only 23·8. Thus not half, but less than one-fourth, of the Hamburg Jews were under 20 years of age. The age-groups among the Frankfort Jews in 1808 correspond approximately to those of the Polish Jews in 1921, when 46·7 per cent were under 20 years of age. The Jews in Latvia approximate to those of Central Europe. Sharpest of all is the contrast between East and West in Czechoslovakia, when the highly developed provinces of

TABLE XI

Age-Groups among the Jews

To every 100 Jews there were	Frankfort, 1808.	Prussia, 1861.	Prussia, 1925.*			Poland, 1921.	Latvia, 1925.	Hamburg, 1925.	Russia.*			
									1897.		1926.	
			Male.	Female.	Altogether.				Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Under 10 years .	29·6	..	..	..	..	19·9	15·9	10·6	51·5	52·3	42·8	39·7
„ 14 „ .	..	36·4	18·4	16·8	17·6	..	..	..				
10 and under 20 years	17·5	..	..	..	..	26·8	22·1	13·2				
14 „ 60 „	..	57·1	74·6	74·1	74·4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20 „ 60 „	46·3	..	..	..	..	46·3	52·5	62·3	42·6	36·5	49·7	44·7
60 and upwards .	6·6	6·5	7·0	9·1	8·0	7·0	9·5	13·9	5·9	11·2	7·5	15·5

* The age-groups for Prussia in 1925 are under 15 years, 15 and under 65 years, 65 and above; for Russia, under 20 years, 20 and under 60 years, 60 and above.

Bohemia and Moravia are compared with Slovakia and Carpatho-Russia. In 1921 to every 100 Jews there were in—

	Bohemia.	Moravia.	Slovakia.	Carpatho-Russia.
Under 15 years . .	14·4	17·7	29·5	40·0
15 and under 70 years .	81·9	76·7	66·4	58·1
70 years and above .	3·7	5·7	4·1	1·9

In Central Europe there are fewer children and more adults among the Jews than among the non-Jews. In 1925, at Hamburg, 23·8 per cent of all the Jews were under 20 years, but 28·2 of the non-Jews, and 13·9 per cent of the Jews were 60 years old and upwards, but only 9·2 of the non-Jews. In Eastern Europe there is no marked difference in this matter between Jews and non-Jews. In Poland, in 1921, 46·7 per cent of the Jews were under 20 years of age, and 47·6 of the non-Jews; and 6·8 per cent of the Jews were 60 and upwards, and 7·2 of the non-Jews. A comparison of age-groups among the Jews in New York in 1925 with those of all white inhabitants of the United States in 1920 shows the following percentages:

	With the Jews.	With all the White Inhabitants.
Under 20 years	40·8	38·8
20 years and under 65 . . .	57·1	56·0
65 years and upwards . . .	2·1	5·2

Thus the difference between the Jews and the total white population is insignificant. The Jews of New York, as far as their age-distribution is concerned, stand half-way between those of Central and of Eastern Europe.

The data for the age-incidence among Oriental Jews are very scanty. According to the Egyptian census of 1927, of the Jews of Egyptian nationality (those of foreign nation-

ality are mostly immigrant European, and not Oriental, Jews) there were—

Under 5 years of age	13·03 per cent.
60 years and upwards	5·17 „

The corresponding figures for non-Jews among the Egyptians were 14·42 and 6·55 per cent; *i.e.* the Jews have fewer children and fewer Jews attain a high age.

The difference in the distribution of age-groups with Jews and non-Jews is of the utmost importance for the birth- and death-rates, and for the causes of death; many wrong judgments concerning biological and social differences between them result from insufficient attention to differences in age-incidence.

(2) Natural Increase

(a) *Differences between Various Countries*

As a result of the rapid drop in the Jewish birth-rate, and a merely moderate decrease in mortality, the natural increase has suffered a constant decline. In Prussia, where fifty years ago the Jews had a yearly natural increase of 14·1 per thousand, in 1925 there was for the first time an excess of deaths over births, amounting to 1·1, and by 1929 to 6·3 per thousand. In Hungary, up to 1926, the Jews had a constant natural increase, but since then the number of deaths has exceeded that of births—in 1929 by 1·7 per thousand.

As shown in Table XII, there was a natural decrease with the Jews of Moravia, Italy, Budapest, Berlin, and Vienna. In Poland, the town of Lodz, with its numerous Jewish labour population, approaches the border-line between a natural increase and a decrease, while in Cracow, where the Jews are mainly of the lower middle class—petty officials, artisans, and traders—there was still a natural increase of 8·2 per 1000.

TABLE XII

Excess of Births over Deaths

(Increase or Decrease per 1000)

Country or City.	Year.	Jews.	Non-Jews.
Prussia . . .	1929	−6·3	+6·3
Hungary . .	1929	−1·7	+7·9
Poland . . .	1929	+9·7	+13·4
Bohemia . .	1929	−6·4	+2·1
Moravia and Silesia	1929	−6·3	+5·8
Slovakia . .	1929	+4·7	+9·9
Carpatho-Russia .	1929	+20·5	+17·9
Soviet Russia . .	1926	+15·5	+23·1
Bulgaria . .	1925–1928	+11·1	+16·5
Lithuania . .	1930	+4·5	+11·0
Latvia . . .	1930	+4·4	+5·7
Roumania . .	1930	+5·7	+15·6
Italy . . .	1925–1930	−0·4	+10·1 (1931)
Budapest . .	1929	−5·9	+0·8
Berlin . . .	1929	−7·6	−2·4
Vienna . . .	1929	−6·7	−5·0
Lodz . . .	1929	+1·5	+10·5
Palestine . .	1931	+22·9	+27·6
Tunis . . .	1930	+17·7	+18·0

In Palestine, where more than half of the present Jewish population are new-comers since 1920, the percentage of persons of the reproductive age is specially high (as in all countries receiving immigrants), and the birth-rate and natural increase among the Jews is greater than in any other country; but also the natural increase of the non-Jews is higher than anywhere else in the world.

Next to Palestine, come Carpatho-Russia, Tunis, Soviet Russia, and Bulgaria, where the Jews have a yearly natural increase of 20·5, 17·7, 15·5, and 11·1 per 1000. In all other countries their natural increase is below 10 per 1000.

The numbers of world-Jewry rose:

In the quinquennium	1901–1905	from	10·5	millions to	11·4	millions.
,, ,,	1906–1910	,,	11·4	,,	12·4	,,
,, ,,	1911–1915	,,	12·4	,,	13·4	,,
,, ,,	1916–1920	,,	13·4	,,	14·1	,,
,, ,,	1921–1925	,,	14·1	,,	14·9	,,
,, ,,	1926–1930	,,	14·9	,,	15·6	,,
In the years	1931–1933	,,	15·6	,,	16·0	,,

In the first fifteen years of the century the yearly increase amounted to about 200,000, in the years 1916–1920 (partly owing to losses caused by the War) it sank to 140,000, in 1921–1925 it rose again to 160,000, and in the years 1926–1930 dropped once more to only 140,000.

In the five countries which have the greatest number of Jews and which comprise 75 per cent of world-Jewry, there was with the Jews—

	Number of Births.	Number of Deaths.	Natural Increase (+) or Decrease (−).
In Poland, 1929 . .	59,539	30,638	+28,901
,, Roumania, 1928 . .	14,232	9,402	+4,830
,, Soviet Russia, 1926 .	57,786	21,868	+35,918
,, Hungary, 1929 . .	5,730	6,519	−789
,, the United States,[1] 1925	77,000	34,000	+43,000
Together . .			+111,860

As the remaining countries include Central and Western Europe, where the natural increase among the Jews is small or where there is even a decrease, and as in recent years the natural increase of the Jews in all countries has further diminished, it probably amounts at present (1933) to about 125,000 a year.

(b) *Prospect of Increase in the Future*

As shown in Table XII, in almost every country the natural increase is now smaller with the Jews than with the non-

[1] Estimate based on the data of the Bureau of Jewish Social Research of New York in the *Jewish Communal Survey of Greater New York* (New York, 1928).

Jews. While in the years 1822–1837, in Prussia, the Jews had a yearly natural increase of 13·4 per 1000 and the non-Jews of 10·3, in 1929 the Jews had a natural loss of 6·3 and the non-Jews a similar increase. But in Berlin and Vienna there was in 1929 a natural decrease also among the non-Jews.

With an annual increase of 8 per thousand, world-Jewry stands half-way between the nations of Western and Central Europe,[1] which have an increase of 1–7, and those of Eastern Europe, which have one of 20–23 per thousand. Thus, compared with Western and Central European nations, the position of world-Jewry does not appear critical, though the fact that in every single country the natural increase of the Jews is smaller than that of the non-Jews, necessarily causes a percentual decline of the Jews. In Western and Central Europe they have maintained their percentage only through immigration from Eastern Europe, but, in view of the closing of frontiers, this will no longer redress the balance in the future. From now onwards we have to expect in those countries not only a percentual, but even an absolute, decrease in the number of Jews.

On the basis of the German tables of mortality for 1924–1926, Silbergleit[2] has calculated that the number of women of the age of 15–45, which with the German Jews amounted in 1925 to 81,548 and with the non-Jews to 9,749,683, would (in the natural course of events) by 1940 have declined with the Jews to 62,004, *i.e.* by 24 per cent, while with the non-Jews, it would increase by 130,956, *i.e.* by 1·3 per cent. It follows that should the fertility remain unchanged, the Jews, in 1940, would have only three-fourths of their present number of births, while the non-Jews would have a small increase on their present birth-rate. Here the curve of the future decline is clearly marked. A further decrease in mortality cannot be expected with the Jews in view of

[1] Holland, with a natural increase of 12·5 per thousand in 1931, is an exception.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 65.

the disproportionate size of the higher age-groups, which is becoming still more marked as a result of the present low birth-rate; nor can an increase in fertility be expected—on the contrary, in view of the increasing concentration in cities, a further decline in the birth-rate is to be counted with. If Burgdoerfer says about the movement of population with the non-Jews in Germany, though with them it is still much more favourable than with the Jews, that "with the shrinkage of the number of women of child-bearing age and the diminishing birth-rate the biological future of the German nation seems to vanish",[1] this applies, in a much higher degree, to the Jews of Central and Western Europe. Even the natural increase which still exists with the Jews in certain countries of Central and Western Europe, is chiefly based on an increasing longevity, and therefore cannot last.

In the nineteenth century, in Eastern Europe, the development of commerce, industry, and handicrafts, which were the Jewish occupations, could not keep up with their great natural increase caused by a declining death-rate. The Russian Jews were unable to find an economic basis of existence in the Pale of Settlement, and their position deteriorated so much that it finally produced a mass-emigration to the West, which carried millions of them to America. The same applies to Galicia and Roumania. Without that decrease in the death-rate, there would have been neither economic misery among the East European Jews, nor a mass-emigration to America. Their number in Russia would have amounted to one or to one and a half million, they would have attained economic ease, and would probably have become assimilated to their neighbours like the Jews in Central Europe. But what would have been possible with

[1] "Die Dynamik der künftigen Bevölkerungsbewegung im Deutschen Reich" in the *Allgemeines Statistisches Archiv*, vol. xxiii. No. 2 (Jena, 1932); see also the book by the same author, *Volk ohne Jugend* (Berlin, 1932).

one million was impossible with six millions—the decrease in the death-rate is the factor which, more than any other, has determined the position of the Jews in the last century.

Since the War the Jews have ceased to grow in numbers in Western and Central Europe, and their increase in Eastern Europe has slowed down. In Western and Central Europe the slow growth has resulted in an improvement of their economic position. In Eastern Europe, so far, it has not produced a marked improvement in their wretched economic position, as the decline set in only of recent years, while the previous safety-valve of emigration has been closed. One of the most serious problems, and perhaps the most serious, facing Jewry is what is to become in the near future of the growing Jewish population of Eastern Europe. In Soviet Russia, owing to a decline in mortality, and especially in infantile mortality, the number of Jews between 16 and 60 years of age, according to the official estimate, amounted in 1926 to 1,594,000, and will rise by 1935 to 1,769,000, and by 1941 to 1,900,000. Thus by 1941, employment will have to be found for another 200,000 Jews. Similar, and perhaps still more unfavourable, are the economic prospects for the growing Jewish population in Poland, where even now a great part lacks a secure basis of existence.

The change in the movement of population with the Jews has, however, produced one advantage. While previously great numbers died in infancy and childhood, or before the end of their working years, and therefore did not do their share of work, the percentage of those who now live through that entire period is much greater. Thus, from an economic point of view, a much smaller part of the expenditure on the maintenance and education of children is lost, and in this respect the Jews, in all countries, have now an advantage as against the non-Jews; though this is only a passing phase, as the same process has set in with the non-Jews.

III. THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF JEWRY

CHAPTER VIII

ECONOMIC CHANGES IN THE POSITION OF THE JEWS SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

(1) In Europe

(a) *Before the War*

The free choice of professions of which the Jews had been deprived in the Middle Ages, having been limited to a few occupations only, was gradually restored to them. Still, the mere right to leave the narrow enclosure to which they had been confined, would not have enabled them to do so had it not been for contemporary economic developments, which were specially favourable to them. The new industrial system, with its factories and technical superiority of big over small works, necessitated large capital investments, and so did the vast extension of commerce between distant countries, based on the new means of transport. In Western and Central Europe, the capital required was largely sought from the Jews, with whom, throughout the Middle Ages, ready cash had been the pivot of their economic activities. Capital investments in commerce and industry now took the place of usury. While debts of the medieval type, contracted to cover personal expenditure, usually resulted in even worse distress, the repayment of loans presented no difficulty for the new entrepreneur, whom Jewish capital enabled to realize high profits. In this period of capitalist economy, the Jewish money-lender changed from an enemy and harsh creditor into a friend and partner of his non-Jewish debtors, the more so as the improved legal and financial security enabled him to reduce the high rate of interest which had previously been required to cover his risks.

Similarly as merchant or manufacturer the Jew could now pursue his business without giving offence. Under the guild system, which governed the economic life of the medieval towns, it was deemed dishonourable to aim at the greatest possible turnover and profit, as this would have affected the livelihood of other members of the guild. But the Jew, excluded from the guilds, looked upon others engaged in the same trade as competitors and not as fellow-members, and continually offended against the spirit of the guild organization in trying to expand his business. Judged by medieval standards, his business outlook was immoral. A last vestige of those ideas survives in the professional code of doctors and barristers, who are forbidden to solicit patients or clients. In trade, however, this conception has completely disappeared with the guilds, and the business methods of the Jew were rehabilitated by being universally adopted—the pursuit of profit and free competition became the guiding principle of the capitalist system. Now the Jews rose quickly in banking, commerce, and industry, improved and enlarged their business, entered in considerable numbers the professions (medicine, law, engineering, etc.), and acquired a wider and safer basis of existence, rising in many cases to wealth and even riches.

This applies especially to Western and Central Europe and America, where industry and commerce developed on a large scale. In Eastern Europe capitalist development started at least fifty years later, while in many Oriental countries it has hardly begun even now; and in consequence the economic rise of the Jews in those countries was much less marked and much slower. Moreover, even at the beginning of the new era the Jews in Western and Central Europe were, to some extent, equipped for the coming of the capitalist system—they were already prominent in finance, on the stock-exchange, and in certain branches of trade, *e.g.* in the clothing and textile trades; thus in Frankfort, in 1824, of 939 Jews in gainful occupations, 547 were

business men working on their own account, of whom 192 were engaged in finance and 149 in the textile trade.[1] On the contrary, in Eastern Europe the large majority of the Jews were inn-keepers, petty traders, commercial agents, and artisans; short of capital and lacking in commercial training, they found it much more difficult to gain a footing in industry, big commerce, and banking.

The occupational distribution of the Jews during this period of incipient capitalism is shown by a comparison between the Western provinces of Prussia, where industrial development had already set in, and Posnania, which still continued in a backward condition. In 1834 there were 16,240 Jewish families in Posnania, and 13,131 in the rest of Prussia. Of every 1000 Jews, there were—

	In Posnania.	In the Rest of Prussia.
In professions (doctors, teachers, etc.)	30	43
Living on private means	10	41
Bankers, big merchants, manufacturers	6	45
Retailers, commercial agents, persons engaged in the sale of spirituous liquors or the providing of board and lodgings	348	493
Pedlars	79	106
Artisans	237	100
In agriculture (though not exclusively)	4	4
Casual labour and domestic servants	73	103
In other or unspecified occupations	213	65

The three outstanding features of this table are: the small number of professional men, rentiers, and big business men among the Jews in Posnania (46 per thousand as against 129 in the rest of Prussia); the large number of artisans (tailors, furriers, glass-cutters, button-makers, hatters, etc.), as in that former province of Poland, the Jews had been much less hampered by guilds in the practice of handicrafts than in other parts of Prussia; and the great number of non-descripts classed as "in other or unspecified occupations",

[1] See Unna, *Statistik der Frankfurter Juden bis 1866* (Frankfurt, 1931).

which shows that the Posnania Jews had not yet acquired a safe footing in economic life. As to Jews in domestic service, Jewish girls from Posnania entered it with wealthy Jewish families in the more advanced parts of Prussia, raising thereby the percentage of Jews thus employed in those other provinces.

The change in the economic structure of Prussian Jewry is well illustrated by a comparison between their occupational distribution in 1861 and 1925.[1]

	Of every 100 Prussian Jews there were engaged		Percentage of Jews among 100 persons engaged.	
	1861.	1925.	1861.	1925.
In commerce and money trade . .	58·3	49·3	21·0	5·0
„ industry and handicrafts . .	16·5	21·9	0·4	0·6
„ agriculture	0·9	1·5	0·0	0·1
„ professions and administration .	2·9	8·7	0·5	1·6
„ transport	0·4	0·4	0·1	0·1
„ domestic service and casual employment	10·4	2·8	2·9	0·6
Without or of unspecified occupation	10·6	15·4	1·9	1·5
Together . .	100·0	100·0	0·9	1·1

After about 1850, differences in the rate of natural increase began to affect the economic position of the Jews; in Western and Central Europe that rate declined, while in Eastern Europe, until quite recently, it remained extraordinarily high. The number of children with which the Jews were burdened in Eastern Europe was about twice as great as in Germany. This meant a greater expense or a lower standard of living, preventing an increase in wealth and a rise in social standing.

Another, and perhaps the most important, reason for the

[1] See Lestschinsky, *Das wirtschaftliche Schicksal des deutschen Judentums* (Berlin, 1933), p. 87.

difference between the economic position of the Jews in Eastern and in Central Europe, lay in the percentage which they formed in the total population. The Jews in Russia and Galicia, who in 1800 numbered about 1,125,000, doubled their figure every forty years, reaching by 1880 a total of 5 millions. There was no room for such an increase in an economically backward country, especially after the Russian Government had restricted the right of residence of the Jews to the "Pale of Settlement". In 1897, of a total of 5,110,000 Russian Jews (this figure naturally does not include Galicia), 4,900,000, *i.e.* 96 per cent, inhabited the "Pale". Had they been free to spread over the whole of Russia, they would have formed only 5 per cent of the population, and would have found sufficient employment in commerce and handicrafts. The 200,000 Jews, who had succeeded in acquiring the right of domicile outside the "Pale", as a rule quickly attained economic prosperity. But within the "Pale" the Jews formed 14 per cent of the population in the Polish, and 11 per cent in the Russian, Governments. Such a percentage could not find profitable employment in commerce and handicrafts (in which also non-Jews were engaged), and this led to overcrowding. Many Jews in the "Pale" were without a sound economic basis, were dealers one day, traders the next, and teachers on the third—Max Nordau has rightly dubbed them with the name of *Luftmenschen*.

None the less, the Jews were an important factor in the industrial life of Russia. They owned the greater part of the corn-mills and alcohol refineries. In commerce they formed a network which from the "Pale of Settlement" extended over the enormous Russian Empire. "A considerable part of the 300,000 Jews in Warsaw", writes Brutzkus,[1] "were engaged in the manufacture of clothing, boots, and small

[1] B. Brutzkus, "Die Lage der Juden in Russland vor und nach der Revolution", in the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, vol. 61, p. 275 (Tübingen, 1929).

wares for the Russian Empire. Vilna, Vitebsk, and Plonsk exported ready-made clothing. The small Polish town of Brzezin alone supplied, every year, cheap clothing to the value of £700,000–800,000 to the miners in the Don Basin and the workmen in the oil-fields of Baku. Also Minsk, Mogilev, and Homel were important centres of the boot trade. There were many Jewish tanneries in Mogilev and Smorgon (Government of Vilna). Vilna and its surroundings were a centre of the knitting trade; and together with Bobruisk, Zhitomir, and many small towns of Polesie had a thriving furniture trade, exporting to Southern Russia, which is poor in timber. Many more towns had their special industries. . . ."

There were many Jewish workmen in the tobacco and match factories, but practically none among the miners of the Don Basin and in the sugar refineries in the Ukraine, although many of these belonged to Jews. In the textile industries their number was considerable among the hand-weavers, who at the end of the nineteenth century still survived in such centres as Lodz and Bialystok, but small among the workmen in the modern mills.

Considerable numbers of Jews were engaged in money-business, in the building trade, on the construction of railways, and in the timber, grain, and metal trades.

In Galicia, where, in 1914, 800,000 Jews formed 11 per cent of the population, their economic position was even worse than in Russia. Only a fraction had an approximately secure economic basis, the rest lived on petty trade, the sale of spirituous liquors, pawnbroking, on handicrafts carried on in the most primitive manner for the lowest remuneration, as commercial agents to the big landowners, or had to rely on casual occupations. Emigration alone offered them an escape from misery.

The economic position of the Jews in Roumania, despite their being refused civic rights, was comparatively good till the 'eighties of the nineteenth century. They formed

only 2–3 per cent of the population, and the export trade in grain, the development of industry, and the growing purchasing power of the peasant population, provided sufficient employment for them in commerce, industry, and handicrafts. In the 'eighties, however, internal competition among them increased owing to Jewish immigration from Galicia, and this, combined with the growing hostility on the part of the Government, greatly affected their position, forcing considerable numbers to emigrate.

In the nineteenth century, in Russia, Galicia, and Roumania, a few per cent of the Jewish population turned to agriculture. The far-reaching plans of the Russian Government were, however, only partially realized—at the beginning of the century it had contemplated a mass transfer to agriculture of Jews who had been deprived of their livelihood by being forbidden to engage in the sale of spirituous liquors. Only a few thousand Jewish families settled in Jewish colonies in Southern Russia, and another few thousand scattered in other parts of the "Pale of Settlement". In Galicia, where, after 1848, the Jews were allowed to buy land, there grew up a class of Jewish big landowners, who cultivated their land with non-Jewish labour, or leased it out. There were, however, practically no Jewish peasants. Only in Carpatho-Russia, which till 1919 belonged to Hungary, a few thousand Jewish families took to a primitive type of agriculture as their main or subsidiary occupation.

(b) *Since the War*

The War marks a decisive turn for the worse in the economic position of the Jews, of which the consequences cannot as yet be fully discerned. Certain facts can, however, be stated even now:

(1) *The Russian Revolution*, which has nationalized all big industrial and commercial undertakings, has established a monopoly in foreign trade, and forbids retail trade or punishes it with social degradation, at one blow has

deprived the vast majority of the Russian Jews of their subsistence. For the non-Jews, of whom 85 per cent were engaged in agriculture, 6 per cent in industry and handicrafts, and only 2 per cent in commerce, the transition to the new economic system meant much less of a cataclysm than for the Jews, of whom nearly 90 per cent were engaged in commerce, industry, and handicrafts. The measures taken by the Soviet Government against private traders and independent artisans hit the Jews infinitely harder than the non-Jews. In 1921, after the first terrible years of despair and starvation, came the new economic policy (N.E.P.), which within certain limits admitted private trade (though subject to a loss of political rights by the trader); but even this provided only partial relief. The field open to private trade was narrow, and the economic policy of the Government changed continually, so that the trader lived in constant danger of new prohibitions or of ruinous taxation. Of those among the displaced who had a general education and were sufficiently young to start a new life, a certain number found employment on the administrative side of the nationalized industrial and commercial undertakings. Many artisans formed themselves into co-operatives and thus escaped the oppressive measures directed against the independent artisans. Between 1924 and 1932, about 15,000 families were settled in agriculture with the help of the Government and of Jewish philanthropic societies. The Jewish youth has been trying to find employment in professions or, since the launching of the Five Years Plan in 1929, as workmen in the industry which is being forcibly developed. But all this does not replace for the Jews their pre-War occupations. Of the older generation, unable to adapt themselves to the new conditions, hundreds of thousands were utterly ruined; they died of privations, or remained economically crippled, in constant danger of starvation and death. If the problem of these "declassed" has, of recent years, lost something of its terrible and tragic character, this is not due to a real im-

provement in their economic situation, but to one part of them having died, while another is now supported by their children, who have grown up and have found employment. So much, however, is clear, that since 1917 the three million Jews of Soviet Russia have passed through incredibly hard times, and that many who could not find employment as workmen or in the civil service, and especially the older people among them, are, to this day, without a basis of subsistence and all hope of finding one.

For the 90 per cent of the non-Jews engaged in agriculture and industry, the Revolution had certain compensations. The Government has given the land to the peasants, freed them from the domination of the big landowners, raised the wages of industrial labour, and looks after their food, health, and education. Economically the Jews suffered only losses, as they have profited little from the privileges conceded to the peasants and workmen, but have suffered much more than the non-Jews from the blows inflicted on all the other classes and professions. Their only gains are civic—they have been given equal rights, and free access to schools and Universities, while the Government energetically opposes anti-Semitism.

(2) *Currency Inflation*, which, in the years following the War, occurred in all the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, destroyed the wealth of their Jews, or reduced it very severely. The value of land, factories, and other material objects was least affected by inflation, that of money and money-claims (mortgages, loans, debentures, etc.) most. The Jews, being more heavily engaged in banking and commerce, had most of their wealth in cash, debentures, or goods which required a constant turnover, and they suffered more from inflation than the non-Jews; while many who still enjoyed the deceptive appearances of riches so long as the inflation lasted, were ruined at its end. This applies especially to people living on private means, whose number was relatively high among the Jews of Central Europe.

(3) *State Capitalism* is gaining ground against private capital. During the War, the requirements of the armies and the provisioning of the population led to serious Government interference with economic life. The production and distribution of goods, previously left to private enterprise, was increasingly regulated by the State. The tendency to nationalize certain branches of economy or to subject them to stricter control by the State, played into the hands of the parties which saw in capitalism the source of the social evils, and, like the Socialists, demanded the nationalization of all means of production, or, like the Christian Socialists and the Nazis in Austria and Germany, demanded a greater measure of protection for the lower middle class and the peasants against commercial capital. Further, in the new States fiscal considerations led to the creation of State monopolies for the production or sale of certain goods. The economic field, previously open to private capital and enterprise, was reduced all round. Wherever the State stepped in, the private entrepreneur went to the wall. Even more: when in Poland monopolies were introduced for spirituous liquors, matches, and tobacco, besides the displaced manufacturers, thousands of Jewish employees and workmen were replaced by non-Jews; the same happened when a monopoly was established for the export of timber. To some extent, this was due to deliberate anti-Semitism, but to some extent also to the change in the nature of the business—taken over by the State, it has lost its previous commercial and competitive character and has changed into an administrative department, in which the commercial abilities and experience of the Jews are less needed.

(4) The scope of commerce is further reduced by *the growth of co-operatives*, which have spread from Germany to Eastern Europe, and have increased more rapidly since the War. Agricultural co-operatives, for the common purchase or sale of goods, supersede the village trader; in East Galicia the growth of such co-operatives among the Ukrainian peasants

has completely cut the ground under the feet of the village Jews. The grain trade, in which, in pre-War Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Roumania, up to 10 per cent of their Jewish population were engaged, and similarly the cattle trade, have passed, to a very large extent, into the hands of co-operatives. In the towns the co-operatives grow, more and more, at the expense of the shopkeepers, but while the non-Jewish shopkeeper has a chance of finding a place in the co-operatives as a shop assistant, practically no Jews are employed by them.

(5) The striving after *economic self-sufficiency*, and attempts to cut down imports by means of heavy tariffs and quotas, have severely reduced the foreign trade of Germany, Poland, and of other East European countries; and equally injurious to trade has been the breaking-up of the two great economic systems of Russia and Austria-Hungary, which internally had formed free-trade areas. Poland and the Border States, which previously manufactured goods for the great Russian market, are now almost completely cut off from it, and many Jews engaged in that trade have lost their livelihood.

(6) *Concentration* in industry, commerce, and banking, through the absorption or ruin of smaller firms, set in before the War, but has grown enormously since 1919, especially in Germany. Certain branches of production are now in the hands of one single trust, while in others a few big concerns control the entire market and prevent the rise of smaller firms. The department-stores and chain-stores have ruined many shopkeepers. The place of independent manufacturers and merchants is taken by employees, but even before March 1933, the Jew had less chance of finding employment in the big undertakings than the non-Jew; and under pressure from the organized personnel, such discrimination against Jewish employees existed even in firms owned or run by Jews. Thousands of Jewish merchants, chemists, and engineers in Germany, while unable to hold

out against the big business concerns, being Jews could not obtain employment with them, and were thus reduced to misery; now that the Nazi Government systematically enforces the displacement of Jews by non-Jews, their position has become infinitely worse.

(7) *The anti-Semitism of the consumers* forms a counterpart to that which debars the Jews from employment in big business. The slogan "Do not buy from Jews!" gained currency in Poland about 1911, and resulted in a boycott of Jewish shops, favoured by the Russian Government. Since 1919 it has been intensified by the rise of a Polish merchant class, and is a serious danger for Jewish shopkeepers dependent on non-Jewish customers. With the coming into office of the Nazis in Germany, an enormous propaganda has been developed, supported by the Government, for boycotting Jewish shops, and also of Jewish doctors, lawyers, and artisans. In small towns, where the owner of a shop is known to the public, many Jewish shopkeepers have been ruined and forced to emigrate, but even in the big towns Jewish business has suffered severely.

In the spring of 1933 the Nazi Government, by dismissal or other methods, has deprived many Jewish officials, judges, barristers, and doctors of their livelihood, paying no regard to prescriptive rights acquired by many years of practice; and it has achieved something new in the history of anti-Semitism by including Christians among the Jews, if merely one of their grandparents was of Jewish race.

Barring anti-Semitism, all these economic tendencies, which endanger the position of the Jews, can be reduced to one common denominator: the setting aside of free competition, which, before the War, was the guiding principle of capitalist economy. The entire economic field was then open to the independent activities of the Jews in their search for a livelihood. In Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland, where, roughly speaking, the principle of

free competition still predominates, the economic rise of the Jews continued even after the War, and was checked only by the economic crisis in 1929. In most other countries of Europe, free competition has by now been discarded; the State and the municipalities monopolize many branches of economy, while others are dominated by trusts, big concerns, and co-operatives. The greatest ingenuity and activity are of little avail to the small banker or shopkeeper in his struggle against the big bank or the department store. Personality now counts for little in business which no longer has any use for the economic flair and initiative of the Jew. There is much less room for him in commerce and in industry while a decaying capitalism passes over into State capitalism, and the decline in his position resembles that at the close of the Middle Ages. Then, too, the Jews were defeated not in free competition, but through the instrumentality of new economic organizations, the guilds, which, with the help of the State, restricted the field of free competition to the disadvantage of the Jews. The rise of capitalism raised the position of the Jews; its decay threatens to depress it once more.

(2) The United States

Each of the three Jewish immigrations into the United States, the Sephardic, the German, and the East European, had its specific economic character.

(a) *The Sephardic Jews*

The Sephardim, who predominated among the Jewish immigrants between the sixteenth and the nineteenth century, came from Portugal and Brazil, Holland and England, and settled mainly in the Southern States, comparatively few going to New York and New England. Most of these immigrants were wealthy, and settled as big merchants or manufacturers. They carried on a considerable

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trade with the West Indies, Africa, and Europe, many of them in their own ships, and they were also prominent in the Indian trade. They were pioneers in the development of sugar plantations, of vineyards, etc.

Sephardic immigration practically stopped at the beginning of the nineteenth century. By 1830, together with a small number of Ashkenazic immigrants, they formed a community of about 10,000 Jews in the United States, and another one of a similar size in Latin America, especially in Surinam and Cuba. By now, except for some small groups in New York City and New Orleans, the Sephardic Jews have become merged in the main body of American Jewry. As a compact group of a few thousand, they have survived only in Dutch Guiana, which, together with Brazil, received their first settlements in the seventeenth century. To this day they enjoy there high standing, and a large part of the commerce and mines is in their hands.

(b) *The German Jews*

The second Jewish immigration, that of the German Jews, set in strongly about 1830. These were traders of small means, but they proved no less successful than their predecessors, the Sephardim. Starting as pedlars or petty traders, they developed in most cases, even in the first generation but invariably in the second, into big merchants, bankers, manufacturers, or professional men. Many of the American department stores were started by these German Jews. They founded the first large Jewish communities, in New York City, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New Orleans, and during the gold rush of 1849, reached California. By 1880 the number of Jews in the United States had risen to 230,000, chiefly through immigration from Germany. They lived in very comfortable circumstances, as big merchants, shop-owners, or dealers in real estate. They were also the first to organize the trade in men's clothing, placing orders with Jewish or non-Jewish sub-contractors, who received

from them the cloth and employed non-Jewish female labour—mainly German and Irish.

The first Sephardic Jewish immigration was that of mercantile or industrial pioneers, the second, German, of staid middle-class merchants, hard-working and intelligent, who were carried high by the powerful wave of American economic development.

(c) *The Jewish Immigration from Eastern Europe*

The new immigrants of after 1880 differed considerably from their predecessors in that they came to America almost without means, the majority being artisans, petty traders, and workmen. Further, while the Sephardic and German Jews came from cultured surroundings to an as yet undeveloped country, and in their standards of living and economic ways did not differ widely from the Americans, by the time the East European immigrants arrived, America had developed considerably, and they, in their appearance and economic dealings, seemed to belong to a lower and backward type. They could not enter the upper classes like the Sephardim, nor the middle classes like the German Jews, but had to start from the bottom. The more striking is therefore the rise which they have achieved in the last fifty years.

The first waves of East European immigration were caused by political events,[1] but once fifty or a hundred thousand East European Jews had settled and struck root in America, economic factors began to govern their further migrations. As a rule, the passage was paid for, not by the immigrants themselves, but by their relatives in America. Young and vigorous members of the family were usually the first to cross over, and, having established themselves, would send for their relatives, if there was a chance of their finding employment. The greater the number of the Jews was in the United States, the more the further arrivals assumed the

[1] See p. 44.

character of family migrations. Between 1908 and 1925, 61 per cent of the Jewish, but only 32·5 of the non-Jewish immigrants, received their ship cards from relatives in America. A comparison of the occupational distribution of the 992,330 earners among the Jewish immigrants between 1900 and 1925, with that of earners among the non-Jewish immigrants, shows that there were engaged—

	Of every 100 Jews.	Of every 100 non-Jews.
In industry and handicrafts . . .	60·4	14·9
,, commerce	10·1	4·1
,, agriculture	2·4	26·6
,, professions	2·0	2·3
Unskilled labourers	10·4	32·7
Domestic servants	12·7	15·4
In other occupations	2·6	4·0

During that period, 1900–1925, the Jews formed 25·8 per cent of the total of industrial workers and artisans among the immigrants, and their proportion in certain branches was as follows:

	Per cent.
In the clothing trades	48·3
,, ,, wood ,, ...	16·4
,, ,, metal ,, ...	12·8
,, ,, food industry	12·8
Among the jewellers and watchmakers . . .	49·7
In the printing trades	34·1
,, ,, leather industry	51·4

Among the immigrant tailors, apart from the other branches of the clothing industry (which includes hatters, etc.), 221,446 Jews constituted in America, between 1900 and 1925, 65·1 per cent of the total.

The above figures are taken from the official American statistics. Though the data given in their occupational tables cannot always be accepted unreservedly, they do show that the *Luftmenschen* were not foremost among Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe, but much rather people with

some previous occupational training. The occupational distribution of the Jews in the United States was, therefore, from the outset much healthier than in Eastern Europe.

The great percentage of tailors among the Jewish immigrants corresponded to the place which the clothing trades had assumed in the United States as economic basis for Jewish immigrants. Before the War, more than half of the Jewish workmen from Eastern Europe were engaged in them, having replaced German and Irish labour. The work could be easily learned, and scores of thousands of Jews, still unacquainted with the country and its language, found in the garment trades their first economic foothold. In the last twenty years the Jews have lost ground in them to the Polish and Italian immigrants.

The fur trade in America is almost entirely in the hands of East European Jews. They form also a majority among the pedlars and street traders. They are prominent in the real-estate business; whole districts such as Bronx (in New York City) have been built by them on originally almost worthless soil. A very considerable proportion of houses in New York, also in non-Jewish quarters, is owned by Jews. In the real-estate business, as in the clothing trade, the East European Jews have outdistanced the German Jews.

Also among office clerks, and still more in the professions, the number of East European Jews is growing rapidly. While towards the end of the nineteenth century the Jews in these occupations were almost entirely of German origin, at present the majority consists of sons and grandsons of East European immigrants. They are specially numerous among the barristers, doctors, dentists, engineers, chemists, journalists, and musicians.

The economic crisis of 1929, which in the United States closed a period of fifty years of almost uninterrupted economic expansion and progress, has hit the Jews harder than

the non-Jews. The catastrophic drop in the price of shares, and of urban real estate and rents, inflicted enormous losses on them and ruined many thousands. The reduced purchasing power of the masses diminished the profits of commerce and paralysed the production of consumption goods (clothes, furniture, food, etc.), in which trades the Jews were specially prominent. A considerable number of Jews engaged in the clothing industry became unemployed, and many tailoring shops were closed. In the professions the economic crisis is felt the more as in the years of prosperity a great number of Jewish parents have educated their sons as lawyers, doctors, engineers, etc. This, combined with the strong increase in the number of non-Jewish University graduates, has produced bad overcrowding in these professions, and reduced their income to an insufficient, or an altogether insignificant, level. Important branches of American economic life, such as the railways and telephones, the heavy trades, and the motor industry, in which the Jews had not previously acquired a foothold, are still more inaccessible to them in the present economic crisis.

The crisis has thrown back the American Jews to the economic level of about 1900 or 1910. A great part of their capital and income has been lost, but, on a long view, their economic prospects are not unfavourable. The proportion which they form in the aggregate population of the United States is only 3·5 per cent, and owing to the closing of immigration, it will sink rather than rise. They are engaged not in commerce alone, but also in the manufacture of necessaries. With a revival of American purchasing power, the position of the Jews must improve. Whereas in post-War Germany and Poland the elimination of Jews goes back to a change in the structure of the national economy, caused by the growing nationalization, municipalization, and syndicalization of many trades, by the extension of co-operatives, and by the anti-Semitic policy of the State or of the economic leaders, in the United States, the Jews are faced

merely by an economic crisis which, sooner or later, will presumably be overcome.

(3) Other American States and the British Dominions

Except for a few thousand Sephardic Jews and a small group that has risen from among the East European immigrants, Canada, which in the nineteenth century received no German-Jewish immigrants, lacks a Jewish upper middle class. Most of the East European Jews are still petty traders, commission agents, or are in the fur and clothing trades, and in a few handicrafts; besides, there are a few thousand settled in agriculture by the Jewish Colonization Association. The economic position of the Jews is satisfactory. The enormous natural riches of Canada—mines, forests, fisheries, hunting-grounds, and agriculture—offer great possibilities in commerce and industry. The War and post-War boom was not as great in Canada as in the United States, nor is, in turn, the reaction to it in the present economic crisis.

The Jews in the Argentine and Brazil are almost all of East European origin, and first came in as agricultural settlers.[1] These were followed by numerous urban settlers who now live mainly in Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro, as pedlars, shopkeepers, and artisans. They have founded and developed many small industries, which produce knitted wares, furniture, mirrors, trunks and bags, office appliances, etc. The previous considerable share of Jews in the white-slave trade has been very much reduced owing to the energetic counter-measures of the Jewish Abolitionist Society. In 1933 the total number of Jews in the Argentine was about 240,000, and in Brazil 45,000. Only few among them have as yet attained wealth or risen into the higher professions. During the last few years, economic conditions

[1] See pp. 168–171.

have been bad in Brazil owing to the glut in coffee and to political disturbances, and in the Argentine owing to the low price of grain and meat. But with the close of the present crisis the Jews can look forward to a further improvement in their economic and social position.

There are about 80,000 Jews in British South Africa, and about 30,000 in Australasia. As the non-Jewish population is mainly engaged in mining, agriculture, and cattle-breeding, the Jews meet with little competition in commerce, and are rising economically. In South Africa they began as small shopkeepers and pedlars in the native villages and among the Boer farmers, but have gradually reached better positions both in commerce and in industry. In the South African gold-mines there are hardly any Jews among the workmen, few in technical posts, a greater number in the administration, but many on the commercial and financial side. They play an important part in the subsidiary trades of gold-production, *e.g.* as dealers in the machinery and tools required for the mines, and hold a dominant position on the Johannesburg stock-exchange. There are many Jewish big landowners, whose farms excel by their organization. The Jews are also numerous in the professions; but there are hardly any Jewish artisans—those who came as artisans have, after some time, almost all taken to commerce. It is stated that at present 70 per cent of all South African Jews are engaged in commerce, 16 per cent in industry, and 14 per cent in the professions.

(4) The Near East

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the economic position of the Jews was fairly uniform throughout the whole of the Near East, which at that time comprised Northern Africa, Western Asia, and European Turkey. They were petty traders, money-lenders, and artisans, and their

economic position was bad. There were few big merchants among them, and practically no agriculturists or manufacturers. Only after Turkey, which had no understanding for economic progress, had been deprived of most of these countries, did the position of their Jews improve. The Christian Balkan States—Serbia, Bulgaria, and Roumania—freed from Turkish suzerainty, entered the European economic system. In Northern Africa the Jews have risen under European rule. In Algiers, which has now been for a century under French administration, their advance is most marked. Less marked is the improvement in Morocco and Tripoli, which only in the twentieth century have passed under European control. There is, in these countries, a considerable difference between the great mass of "native" and the minority of "foreign" Jews (Sephardim who have retained, or subsequently acquired, a foreign nationality—French, Italian, or British). The "native" Jews form the poorer strata of the population; the "foreign" are big merchants, landowners, bankers, doctors, and lawyers.

The position of Jews has changed little in Oriental countries which to this day remain under native rule—Turkey, Persia, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Yemen. Most of them are poor and live as petty traders or artisans. In Turkey, where before the War Constantinople had a fairly numerous class of wealthy—mostly foreign—Jews, their position in commerce and industry has declined owing to strong Turkish competition, favoured by the Government; a certain number have left the country. In Iraq, conditions have improved since the War; administration has been modernized under the British Mandate, which lasted till 1932, and this, combined with the great development of the oil-fields, has opened wider possibilities for commerce. The same applies to Syria under the French and Palestine under the British Mandate. In Palestine the position of the Jews has been improved by the new developments connected with the building up of the Jewish National Home.

CHAPTER IX

OCCUPATIONS AND INCOME

(1) The Historical Bases of the Peculiar Occupational Distribution of the Jews

For historical reasons, everywhere the percentage of Jews engaged in agriculture is much smaller, and in commerce much larger, than that of non-Jews. Though among the Jews of ancient Palestine commerce and handicrafts were not unknown, agriculture formed their principal occupation. In Babylon, where they settled in the sixth century B.C., the position was reversed, many more engaging in commerce and handicrafts than in agriculture.[1] In Southern Europe, especially in Sicily and the South of France, in the first thousand years of the Christian era, there were still traces of a Jewish agriculture (mainly plantations of mulberry trees for the culture of silkworms, and vineyards), but commerce was already their main occupation. In Central and in Eastern Europe, where after the Crusades the Jews settled in considerable numbers, commerce, money business, and, somewhat later, handicrafts, became their sole occupations.

In the Diaspora the Jews could not freely steer their own economic course. They had to accept the economic structure of the countries in which they settled, and to adapt themselves to it; and they were subject to the laws and arbitrary will of the master nations, which debarred them from many occupations. Nor did they find anywhere, in foreign countries, vacant cultivable land on which they could have settled—it was all taken up; and where it was

[1] Cf. J. Newman, *The Agricultural Life of the Jews in Babylonia* (London, 1932).

national or communal property, it could not even be acquired by strangers.

Whenever a nation leaves its homeland and settles in a foreign country, under foreign dominion, such migration, whether enforced or voluntary, necessarily implies a break in its economic life, and profoundly alters its mode of living. A new chapter opens up in a new country. People engaged in their own homes in agriculture will not easily give it up, even though, when carried on in the primitive forms of ancient and medieval times, it was harder and more irksome than other occupations, especially than commerce or handicrafts. Tradition, habits acquired in youth, security of possession, attachment to the soil, kinships and friendships, bind the individual to the place of his birth and to his profession. But divorced from the soil, and divested of these bonds, he turns, on the hedonistic principle, to whatever available occupation appears easiest, most suitable, and most profitable. The Armenian emigrants, who in their own country are mainly peasants, in their new homes tend to engage almost exclusively in commerce and handicrafts. Similarly few Flemish or Huguenot refugees in England turned to agriculture, and if so, as squires only, hardly ever as yeomen. Of the emigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe who have entered the United States during the last fifty years, *i.e.* after the supply of vacant land had been exhausted, only a small proportion settled in agriculture. The Jews, on coming to Europe, had the advantage of being acquainted with commerce on the higher level which it had reached in Palestine, and especially in Babylon (where commercial contracts and accounts have been found dating back to 2000–3000 B.C.); whereas the European nations, and especially those of Central and Eastern Europe, still lived on the level of a barter economy. Further, owing to their connexions with their co-religionists in the East and in the intervening countries, they enjoyed special facilities for obtaining Eastern produce (spices, fine textiles, golden

ornaments, etc.), which up to the time of the Crusades formed the main objects of commerce, and yielded high profits, not to be gained in agriculture. Moreover, since the rise of the big landowners, the social position of the peasants was mostly that of villeins or serfs. The merchants of those days were, on the contrary, highly respected, and well received in the castles of princes, bishops, and nobles.

Thus the Jews entered Europe as strangers in religion, and strangers by the occupations in which they engaged; and these led them into the towns. This triple difference established and preserved the isolation of medieval Jewry. Could they at all have taken to agriculture, they could hardly have done so without scattering throughout the country and its numerous villages, which, in spite of the difference in religion, would probably in a few generations have resulted in complete assimilation. Engaged in commerce and concentrated in towns, they formed agglomerations and developed a social life of their own, moving and marrying within their own community.

It is possible that during the many centuries since the destruction of the Jewish State, and in the many countries where the Jews settled, there were some who turned to agriculture. It is known that Assyrian kings settled Israelites as colonists in their Empire, but they have completely disappeared; this probably is the origin of the story about the Ten Lost Tribes. In Northern Africa, in pre-Islamic times, great numbers of Jews were engaged in agriculture, but of these, too, the vast majority have been absorbed by the local population. Still, no certain information has come down to us of those lost Jewries, whose numbers may have been very considerable—they have left no history, and with their national individuality their trail has faded away. Only those Jews count in history and in the present who have remained Jews, *i.e.* those who combined their distinct religion with differences in occupation, who engaged in commerce and were settled in towns.

In consequence in the Middle Ages the conceptions of Jew and trader became well-nigh synonyms, and it came to be thought abnormal for Jews to take up other professions. They became prisoners in their own stronghold, and could no longer abandon the occupations which they had chosen, even had they wished to do so. They were forbidden to buy land and engage in agriculture, and, when a class arose of Christian merchants and artisans, the Jews were gradually debarred by law even from various branches of these professions. This produced in the later Middle Ages the economic misery and abasement of the Jews, from which, only at the beginning of the nineteenth century, they slowly began to find their way back to other occupations. None the less, commerce has everywhere remained their most important occupation; historically connected with it, they had less reason to leave it when, with the rise of capitalism, a powerful development set in in commerce, offering rich possibilities of gain.

They abandoned it only where overcrowding deprived them of a chance to make a living, or where other professions offered a better income or higher social rank. As mentioned above, the slow economic development of Eastern Europe failed to provide in commerce for their growing numbers. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they turned to cognate occupations, and farmed taxes, excise, and dues from the State, or the monopoly of producing and selling vodka from the nobles. They were less inclined to engage in handicrafts, which were not so profitable as commerce, and were considered as inferior socially; but, if forced to do so, they chose handicrafts linked up with commerce, and thus came to engage primarily in the finishing trades; they became millers, dyers, tailors, furriers, tanners, goldsmiths, diamond-cutters, opticians, etc. With some of these handicrafts Jews were familiar even in the earlier Middle Ages, as they were required for the preservation of their goods or for adjusting them for their customers, and

commerce and handicrafts at that time were not yet strictly divided. Other handicrafts, *e.g.* those of bakers and butchers, had to be practised by them, as, according to the Mosaic law, bread and meat for consumption by Jews must be prepared by Jews. In Central and Western Europe the Jews were, however, gradually squeezed out from most of the crafts by the guilds, which aimed at protecting the Christian artisans against extraneous competition. Only in Eastern Europe, where the guild system was never completely established, and a class of Christian artisans did not arise till much later, were the Jews able to engage in practically all handicrafts, almost without limitation.

Handicrafts were the first position on which the Jews fell back in their enforced retreat from the overcrowded commercial occupations. Agriculture came next, but the Jews turned to it only where even handicrafts no longer offered them a livelihood; and even then, almost only where the Government or some big Colonization Societies facilitated such a transition. The Russian Government did so in the beginning of the nineteenth century, and Jewish welfare societies towards its end. Carpatho-Russia is an exception. It belonged till 1919 to Hungary, and early in the nineteenth century was a refuge for Jews evading military service in the neighbouring countries. It was a very backward country and offered few chances in commerce or handicrafts, and there the Jews were forced to take to agriculture and live the life of peasants. To this day there are a few thousand Jewish families in Carpatho-Russia for whom agriculture is the main, or an auxiliary, occupation, supplying them with potatoes and milk, their staple food. Their number has diminished in the last twenty or thirty years, owing to emigration and to their taking to commerce.

While the Jews took to handicrafts and agriculture only if forced by circumstances, they passed of their own choice into big industry and the professions; these, both in social rank and in income, were often superior even to

commerce, which, before the Jewish emancipation, had been the highest occupation open to them. Their quick understanding and mental nimbleness, which helped them in commerce, were also useful in industry, especially on its commercial side, in the legal and medical professions, and in journalism. In the capitalist era, their rise as manufacturers was facilitated by the fact that in many industrial undertakings finance and marketing are as important as manufacturing. The sales organization is especially vital in industries producing for immediate consumption and for wide markets, though less so in the production of raw materials and half-manufactures, which are not sold to the public but to other manufacturers or to the finishing trades. The Jews are therefore the more prominent the nearer production approaches the market.

(2) The Present Occupational Distribution in Europe

As seen in Table XIII, among the Jews engaged in gainful occupations, the proportion of those in commerce and transport[1] varies from 18·2 per cent in Palestine and 30·4 in Carpatho-Russia to 49·7 in Prussia. Where the Jews form only 1–2 per cent, or even less, of the population, the individual Jew finds more scope in commerce than where they form 10 per cent or more. Further, his chances depend on the economic development of the country, and on the extent to which the non-Jewish population is willing,

[1] In the statistics of some countries, "commerce" covers those employed in restaurants, public-houses, places of entertainment, etc., and in other countries even those employed in transport (on the railways, in the postal service, carriers, etc.). Occupational statistics can be based either on the place of occupation or on its personal character. Here the first test is applied; thus a book-keeper is classed as engaged in agriculture, commerce, or industry, according to the character of the concern in which he is employed.

TABLE XIII

Occupational Distribution of the Jews

Among every 100 Jews gainfully occupied there were—

Country.	Year.	In Agriculture and Forestry.	In Mining, Industry, and Crafts.	In Commerce and Insurance.	In Transport.	In Administration and Professions.	In the Army and Navy.	Casual Labour.	Domestic Service.	Other Occupations.	Without Occupation.	Occupation unspecified.
Germany	1907	1·3	21·5	49·7		6·5		2·1		..	18·9	
Prussia	1925	1·4	21·9	49·7		8·7		2·8		..	15·4	
Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia	1921	2·8	21·3	46·9	2·7	7·2		17·1				
Slovakia	1921	10·7	22·3	46·0	1·7	7·7		11·6				
Carpatho-Russia	1921	26·9	23·6	26·4	4·0	5·4		13·7				
Hungary	1920	4·2	35·0	39·7	2·8	8·6	1·2	0·3	1·5	1·1	5·1	..
Roumania	1913	2·4	42·0	37·2	3·4	3·2	1·6	0·5	2·8		6·9	
Poland	1921	9·6	31·7	34·6	2·6	4·3	1·6	..	4·9	..	7·2	3·6
Galicia	1910	13·4	23·0	47·8		4·6	0·9	3·2		7·1	..	..
Latvia	1920	2·5	32·5	48·0		5·4				11·6		
Lithuania	1923	6·0	22·0	33·0		5·0				34·0		
Soviet Russia	1926	9·8	35·1	27·3	2·2	8·6				17·0		
Palestine	1931	18·5	29·4	13·3	4·9	12·4	0·8	..*	5·1	..	3·6	12·0

* In Palestine casual labour is included among the unspecified occupations.

or able, to carry on commerce. In Palestine the very low percentage of Jews in commerce is due to the deliberate policy of settling them in agriculture, and to the fact that commerce with the Arabs is almost entirely in Arab hands. Among the Jews in Prussia, the percentage in industry (including mines) and in handicrafts was, in 1925, 21·9 as against 49·7 in commerce; in Roumania the corresponding figures are 42·0 and 40·6. In Lithuania officials and members of professions form only 5 per cent among the Jews, whereas in Prussia (in 1925) and in Hungary the percentage was almost twice as high; it rises with the length of time they have been settled as citizens enjoying full rights and with the degree of economic ease. In agriculture, the proportion of Jews in Central Europe does not exceed 5 per cent, in Eastern Europe it varies from 5 to 15, while in Carpatho-Russia it rises to 26·9 and in Palestine to 18·5 per cent.

This was, according to Lestschinsky,[1] in 1932, the occupational distribution of world-Jewry:

		Per cent.
Commerce (including transport, entertainments trade, and banking)	6,100,000 *i.e.*	38·6
Industry (including mining and handicrafts)	5,750,000 ,,	36·4
Professions and the Civil Service	1,000,000 ,,	6·3
Agriculture	625,000 ,,	4·0
Casual labourers and domestic servants	325,000 ,,	2·0
Unoccupied (living on private means, pensions, or in receipt of assistance)	2,000,000 ,,	12·7
Together	15,800,000 ,,	100·0

Occupational differences between Jews in various countries have grown up mainly in the last century. At the end of the eighteenth century the great majority of European Jewry inhabited the territories of the late Kingdom of Poland, and about 60 per cent among them were engaged in commerce, 15 per cent in handicrafts, while the rest were teachers, communal officials, Talmudists, agents on the big landed estates, etc. In countries where there has been no

[1] The *Menorah Journal*, vol. xx. No. 2 (New York, 1932).

marked development of industry, and where the percentage of Jews has remained comparatively high, say about 10, their occupational distribution has changed little. Thus in Galicia it is now practically the same as it was a hundred years ago, while in late Russian Poland, which before the War had become an important industrial area working for export to Russia, many Jews have entered industry, and are especially numerous in the small workshops and the home industries. In Central Europe, where their percentage in the total population was much smaller, there was a marked change: they have entered industry and the professions, and have risen considerably within each order. Small traders and pawnbrokers have changed into big merchants and bankers, while in industry the Jews are mostly manufacturers or office personnel. In East European industry, on the contrary, the majority are workmen. Their numerical participation in industry was therefore greater in Eastern Europe, but, at least up to 1933, their influence was greater in the German industry.

Since 1917 the economic development of Russia has been determined by the policy of the Soviet Government. Under Bolshevism the Jews have been deprived not of their wealth only—in contra-distinction to the non-Jews engaged mainly in agriculture—they have lost most of their previous occupations, the Government making it impossible for them to carry on as merchants or as independent artisans. They had to take to agriculture, go into the factories, or organize in artisan co-operatives. While at the census of 1897, 36·2 per cent of all the Russian Jews were engaged in commerce, 37·3 in industry and handicrafts, 2·6 in agriculture, 5·5 in administration or the professions, and 18·4 in other occupations, at the census of 1926 the proportion in agriculture had risen to 9·2 per cent, and in administration and the professions to 10·7, while that of industrial workmen and artisans, owing to the decay of handicrafts, had sunk to 34·3, and in commerce to 19·1. According to semi-official

data for 1932, of the 1,300,000 Jews gainfully occupied in Soviet Russia, 480,000 (36·9 per cent) were workmen, 450,000 (34·6) employees (in economic undertakings, in administration, or the professions), 200,000 (15·4) artisans, and 170,000 (13·1) were engaged in agriculture. The number of the "declassed", *i.e.* of those not considered to be productively occupied—mainly private traders—is given at 15,000. These figures are hardly trustworthy. The number of agriculturists probably falls short of 170,000, even if the women and older children are included as assisting in the work on the farm, while the number of traders is probably far in excess of 15,000. Whoever combines private trade with some agricultural work or with a handicraft will have tried to avoid being registered as a trader. Moreover, of the 1,553,000 Jews not gainfully occupied, many would still be employable, but so far have been unable to find a place under the present economic system. The Government, however much they tried, have failed to create new openings at the pace at which their policy destroyed the previous occupations, especially for the older people, not fit to take up work to which they had not been trained and accustomed.

The differences in the occupational distribution of Jews and non-Jews in various countries are best seen by comparing the percentage of Jews under the occupational headings with the percentage they form in the total population, as is done in Table XIV. In commerce the percentage is abnormally large—in Palestine twice that of the non-Jews, in Hungary 7½ times, and in Poland 6 times. In industry and handicrafts their percentage is double that of the non-Jews in Hungary, Poland, Carpatho-Russia, and Palestine, while in Central Europe it is smaller than among the non-Jews. Everywhere they are more numerous in administration and the professions, while their percentage in agriculture is small—in Prussia one-eighteenth and in Poland one-twelfth, and even in Palestine and Carpatho-Russia only half of that of the non-Jews. Similarly in

TABLE XIV

Participation of Jews in Occupations

Country.	Year.	Per Cent in Total Population.	In Agriculture and Forestry.	In Industry and Crafts.	In Commerce and Insurance.	In Transport.	In Administration and Professions.	In the Army and Navy.	Casual Labour.	Domestic Service.	Without Occupation.	Occupation unspecified.
Germany . .	1907	1·0	0·04	0·6	4·2		1·1	..	0·3	0·3	1·6	
Prussia . .	1925	1·1	0·06	0·6	3·5		1·5		0·6		1·5	
Hungary . .	1920	5·9	0·4	11·7	45·1	5·7	10·5	2·7	1·3	1·9	10·6	
Galicia . . .	1910	10·1	1·2	25·8	60·5		17·4	4·8		11·6		
Poland (including Galicia) . .	1921	10·4	0·9	23·5	62·6	10·2	12·4	4·4	16·7	16·1	13·6	
Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia .	1921	1·3	0·1	0·7	9·5	0·7	2·3	0·8		2·0		
Slovakia . .	1921	4·5	0·8	5·7	50·3	2·2	9·6	1·0		5·8		
Carpatho-Russia .	1921	15·4	6·1	34·4	87·3	24·8	25·2	23·0		20·4		
Palestine . .	1931	18·0*	9·1	42·5	33·5	20·3	49·1	8·4†	..	33·5	35·4	46·8

* Excluding the nomad population.
† Including the police.

domestic service their percentage is low. Poland and Palestine are exceptions; in Poland the bad economic conditions force many women to enter it, while in Palestine Jewish families very seldom employ non-Jewish servants, as they do in other countries.

The occupational differences between Jews and non-Jews are naturally smaller within a city than in a whole country, as agriculture hardly enters into the count. Thus in 1925 in Berlin for every 100 persons gainfully occupied, there were engaged in—

	Of the Total Population.	Of the Jewish Population.
Agriculture	0·8	0·1
Industry and handicrafts	45·4	26·7
Commerce and transport	26·4	44·0
General or local government, army and navy	3·4	0·8
The professions	3·6	5·8
Public health and welfare work	2·6	4·6
Domestic service and casual labour	6·5	2·4
Persons without specified occupations or unoccupied	11·3	15·6
	100·0	100·0

Of the total population about 45 per cent were engaged in industry and handicrafts, and about 26 per cent in commerce; with the Jews the figures were reversed.

Similarly in Budapest, in 1925, per 100 persons gainfully occupied, and their dependents, there were among—

	The non-Jews.	The Jews.
In agriculture	1·0	0·5
„ mines	0·01	0·01
„ industry	36·5	25·9
„ commerce and banking	7·5	31·5
„ transport	6·3	2·4
„ civil administration and the professions	15·9	17·7
„ the army	1·4	0·01
Casual labourers	3·6	0·6
Persons living on their own means	10·2	11·6
In other or unspecified occupations	17·6	9·8
	100·0	100·0

For a detailed distribution of Jews between the various occupations, Prussia (as it was before March 1933) is chosen as typical for Central Europe, and Galicia for Eastern Europe. Because of the much greater number of Jews in Galicia, their participation in each order should be about seven times larger than in Prussia, but there is no such uniformity. To every 1000 persons engaged in the various occupations there were the following numbers of Jews engaged in—

	Galicia	Prussia	
	(1910).	(1907).	(1925).
Agriculture and forestry	12·7	0·4	0·6
Mines and mineral extraction	52·4	0·4	0·9
Quarries and potteries	79·9	1·0	1·4
Metal manufactures	142·1	3·0	3·2
Machinery and instruments	204·7	5·0	2·6
Chemical works	341·0	12·0	8·0
Textile works	159·8	5·0	5·1
Paper and leather	427·5	11·2	8·8
Wood, furniture, and fittings	209·8	4·0	3·6
Food and drink	417·3	14·0	10·0
Clothing and cleaning trades	369·7	27·0	23·0
Building	126·3	2·0	2·1
Print, books, and stationery	298·7	1·0	..
Banking, commerce, and insurance	848·0	89·0	57·0
Persons dealing in spirituous drinks, and providing board and lodgings	760·0	11·6	9·7
Domestic servants and casual labour	189·8	3·1	5·8

Thus in 1910, in Galicia, in many industries 30–40 per cent of those gainfully occupied were Jews, and in commerce, public-houses, etc., almost 80, while in Prussia, in 1907, they formed in industry, on an average, only 1–2 per cent, in commerce 8·9, in hotels, restaurants, and public-houses, only 1·1. In Prussia the decrease in the percentage of Jews in commerce and insurance, from 8·9 in 1907 to 5·7 in 1925, was caused by the enormous growth in the number of non-Jews—from 985,587 to 1,889,238—while that of Jews rose only from 87,593 to 107,642. Similar changes can be traced in all branches of Prussian industry, due to the rapid and

continued transition of non-Jews from agriculture to industry. The increase in Prussia in the percentage of Jews in domestic service and casual employment, from 3·1 in 1907 to 5·8 in 1925, is due to a change in classification; that group is now made to include everyone who is engaged in domestic employment, or in an unspecified occupation, or is without a fixed employment.

(3) Occupational Grouping of the Jews in America

While the occupational grouping of the Jews in Europe has gradually grown up from its traditional basis in the eighteenth century, the grouping in America is not, in the same way, correlated to it, as all occupations among the Jews were not equally represented among the immigrants.

The occupational grouping of the Jews in America differs according to the generation to which they belong. In the first generation, a considerable proportion among the immigrants still adhere to their original occupations, though the previously independent artisans usually go into the workshops. In certain cases they rise to be foremen, cutters in tailoring, or even owners of workshops. Among the second generation, brought up in America, workmen are rare; they are mostly owners of workshops or shops, clerks, brokers in real estate, while some rise even into the professions. In the third generation the Americanization of the Jews is usually complete; they are merchants, manufacturers, bankers, big dealers in real estate, officials, managers, or members of the professions. But as about half the Jews in America still belong to the first generation of immigrants, the occupational character of that generation predominates; though, the gates being now closed against further immigration, that of the second and third generation will in time prevail, *i.e.* the proletarian strata among the Jews will shrink, while the middle classes will grow in numbers. Naturally,

the rate of this development will depend on the time required for America's recovery from the present economic crisis.

(4) Occupations and Social Position

As a rule those working on their own account are in a better economic and social position than office employees, and these in a better position than workmen; though there are exceptions. Table XV shows that in all occupations the percentage of persons working on their own account is higher among the Jews than among the non-Jews; and formerly it was even higher than it is now. In 1852, of the Jews in Prussia engaged in commerce (including the sale of spirituous liquors and the providing of board and lodgings) 82 per cent still worked on their own account, but in 1925 only 53·5; of those engaged in industry and handicrafts, in 1852, 71 per cent, but in 1925 only 41·6. At that time independence was to the Jew the obvious aim of his economic endeavours; he disliked being in a dependent position, and he hoped to achieve better financial results by working on his own account. To the young Jew employment as a clerk or workman was therefore merely a stage on the road to independence. But the chances of attaining it have been continually reduced by the rise of big business, and great numbers of Jews have now to resign themselves to life-long economic dependence.

In 1925, in Prussia, the proportion of Jews among persons gainfully occupied was 1·01 per cent; but under the separate headings—

	Per cent.
Among those working on their own account (including home-workers)	3·00
Among managers and office personnel	1·99
,, workmen	0·18
,, family members assisting its head	0·49
,, persons employed in the house	0·59

TABLE XV

Occupational Position

Of every 100 Gainfully Occupied.	Poland, 1921.		Hungary, 1920.				Prussia, 1925.						Berlin, 1925.	
	All Occupations.		Industry and Handicrafts.		Commerce and Banking.		Industry and Handicrafts.		Commerce.		Public Service and Professions.		All Occupations.	
	Jews.	Non-Jews.	Jews.	Non-Jews.	Jews.	Non-Jews.	Jews.	Non-Jews.	Jews.	Non-Jews.	Jews.	Non-Jews.	Jews.	Total Population.
Working on own account	50·3	22·2	39·2	29·0	49·5	35·2	41·6	12·4	53·5	20·9	54·3	15·5	45·6	15·4
Office personnel	5·1	3·8	14·5	2·6	27·2	25·7	30·1	11·2	35·4	42·1	41·2	65·9	39·7	30·5
Workmen	23·4	29·2	46·3	68·4	23·3	39·1	23·1	74·9	2·0	30·0	4·0	18·0	9·3	45·9
Dependents assisting head of family	13·4	41·5	..	..	..	..	5·2	1·5	9·1	7·0	0·5	0·6	3·7	2·2
Position uncertain	7·7	3·3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
In domestic employment	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1·7	6·0

Especially in economically advanced countries, the percentage of employees other than workmen among the Jews is high. In 1925 they formed in Berlin 39·7 of those gainfully occupied as against 45·6 per cent working on their own account; in Prussia, in commerce, 41·2 as against 53·5, and in industry and handicrafts, 30·1 as against 41·6 per cent. On the contrary, in Poland, where the vast majority of farmers, shopkeepers, and artisans work without extraneous assistance, the proportion of employees is only 5·1 per cent among the Jews and 3·8 among the non-Jews; in commerce the percentage among them is more or less the same, but in industry or handicrafts the percentage of employees, other than workmen, is much higher among the Jews than among the non-Jews, *e.g.* in Hungary 14·5 as against 2·6, in Prussia 30·1 as against 11·2.

The percentage of workmen among persons gainfully occupied in industry and handicrafts is everywhere much smaller among the Jews than among the non-Jews; the difference is most marked in Berlin and in Prussia, where in 1925 their percentage among the Jews was 9·3 and 23·1, as against 45·9 and 74·9 among the non-Jews. There were in Prussia 16,019 Jewish workmen, forming 8·4 per cent of all the Jews gainfully occupied, as against 46·9 among the non-Jews. Of the Jewish workmen 79·7 were skilled, among the non-Jews 66·1; 4887 were engaged in occupations not requiring previous training, 137 were miners, 495 agricultural labourers, and 101 in timber, metal, and stone works. The small percentage among industrial workmen, and the high percentage among those working on their own account in commerce and industry, are the most characteristic features of the occupational distribution of the Jews in Central Europe. In Eastern Europe, owing to the smaller number of industrial workers, the differences between Jews and non-Jews are less marked. In Soviet Russia, where the workmen form the governing class, at the census of 1926 the percentage of Jews was—

	In the Ukraine.	In White Russia.	In Moscow.	In Leningrad.
In the total population . .	5·4	8·2	6·5	5·3
Among the workmen . . .	8·7	20·7	2·0	2·0
,, ,, office personnel . .	16·8	25·5	8·9	7·2
,, those working on their own account:				
Without hired labour . .	26·7	50·3	8·6	8·2
With hired labour . . .	10·4	17·1	23·1	23·6
With the assistance of their families	1·3	2·2	7·6	6·7

Thus in the Ukraine and White Russia the Jews were under-represented among those working with the help of their families (these were mainly in agriculture), and over-represented in all the other categories, most of all among those working on their own account without hired labour—this category includes the small traders and artisans. But a considerable regrouping has taken place since 1926; the young Jews go into the factories, while the older people, who continue to work in commerce and handicrafts on their own account, are dying out.

(5) Numerical Relation of Dependents to Persons Gainfully Occupied

The percentage of dependents as against earners is determined by—

(*a*) the number of children below, and of old people above, the earning age;

(*b*) the views and habits prevalent in their class regarding the employment of juveniles, or of women and girls;

(*c*) the openings for their employment;

(*d*) the degree to which economic pressure enforces their employment;

(*e*) the occupational grouping of the population—the extent to which members of the family can assist its head in his work varies with the occupation.

Table XVI shows that the percentage of persons gainfully occupied is, in most countries, smaller among the Jews than among the non-Jews. It lags far behind in Poland and Russia; in Prussia, on the other hand, in 1907, their percentage among the Jews was greater than, and in 1925 the same as, among the non-Jews. Thus, where the economic position of the Jews is worst, the dependents are most numerous; from which it should not, however, be concluded that their number is the sole cause of their poverty. The large number of dependents among the Jews in Eastern Europe is due to a high birth-rate and to their traditional unwillingness to let their women-folk become wage-earners outside the home. The burden of dependents in turn impedes their economic rise, which is anyhow difficult in the economic conditions of Eastern Europe; savings cannot be effected where numerous children have to be maintained and educated.

The birth-rate among the non-Jews is everywhere higher than among the Jews, but in agricultural communities the number of "dependents" is comparatively small, as the women and children assist in farm work and are registered as earners. In 1921, in Poland, to every 100 persons engaged in agriculture there were only 64 dependents (non-assisting by work or wages), but 179 in industry, and 211 in commerce; the Jews, being mostly engaged in commerce, had 195 dependents to every 100 earners, while the Roman Catholics had only 84 to 100.

The Jewish tradition which restricts the employment of young girls and women to the home, or at least to work of a non-manual character in offices or shops, is breaking down under the weight of economic conditions. For the last fifty years, Jewish women in Central Europe have been working in offices or shops, and now in Eastern Europe a change in attitude is supervening, which allows girls to enter even workshops and factories. Especially among the Jewish immigrants in the United States, the entry of girls into

TABLE XVI

Percentage of Persons Gainfully Occupied

		Poland, 1921.	Prussia, 1907.	Prussia, 1925.	Lithuania, 1923.	Hungary, 1920.	Hamburg, 1907.	Czecho-slovakia, 1921.	Ukraine, 1926.	White Russia, 1926.	Moscow, 1926.	Leningrad, 1926.
Men	Jewish	52·2	73·4	78·4	30·6	..	69·4	..	58·8	54·8	72·1	70·4
	Non-Jewish	63·6	65·3	72·9	42·5*	..	67·3	..	66·5	66·7	80·6	71·1
Women	Jewish	17·6	31·1	34·5	30·9	..	19·0	..	21·4	21·3	36·1	32·5
	Non-Jewish	50·2	34·2	39·6	48·3*	..	24·9	..	57·3	59·6	37·5	37·7
Both sexes	Jews	33·9	51·9	55·8	30·8	43·2	44·3	43·7	38·9	37·1	53·7	51·4
	Non-Jews	56·6	49·6	55·8	45·5*	47·2	46·2	44·2	..	..	..	..

* These figures refer only to non-Jews of Lithuanian nationality, in the linguistic, not in the civic, sense.

workshops is very common. With regard to the married woman, there persists, however, to this day an aversion to letting her engage as a wage-earner, the home and the care of children remaining her sphere. Moreover, the fact that there are few farmers among the Jews reduces the number of women assisting the head of the family at his work.

TABLE XVII

Proportion of Females Occupied.	In Poland (1921).		In Prussia (1925).		In Roumania (1913).	
	Among the Jews.	Among the Non-Jews.	Among the Jews.	Among the Non-Jews.	Among the Jews.	Among the Non-Jews.
In commerce .	22·4	36·7	23·4	29·0	9·3	5·4
In industry and handicrafts .	16·2	19·9	23·9	19·2	27·8	20·0
In all occupations	27·4	45·7	26·0	34·4	21·9	44·7

Thus among the Jews in Poland and Prussia women formed about 25 per cent of those in gainful occupation, and in Roumania about 20 per cent; among the non-Jews in Poland and Roumania, which are agricultural countries, 45 per cent, in Prussia 34 per cent. In Roumania the percentage of women in commerce, industry, and handicrafts is higher with the Jews than with the non-Jews, these being even more backward in their semi-Oriental conception of the place of women in occupations other than agriculture. Russian statistics for 1923 show that the percentage of women among Jewish earners decreases with the size of the town. In towns with above 100,000 inhabitants, women formed 25·5 per cent of the Jewish earners, in those with less than 10,000 inhabitants, only 15·3 per cent; in the smaller towns tradition is stronger, and the openings for female labour are fewer.

The following table shows the occupational distribution of women among the Jews and the non-Jews in Prussia;

according to Silbergleit,[1] of every 100 women gainfully employed there were—

	Among the Jews.	Among the Total Population.
In agriculture	2·4	36·2
,, industry and handicrafts	16·5	19·2
,, commerce and transport	36·7	12·1
,, public administration, and Army and Navy	0·3	0·5
,, the Church, the law, and the professions	4·0	1·8
,, public health and welfare	2·8	2·3
,, domestic service and casual labour	6·5	11·9
Without specified occupation, or unoccupied (living on own means, pensioners, or in receipt of assistance)	30·8	16·0
	100·0	100·0

The percentage of Jewesses classed under "agriculture" and "domestic service" is remarkably small, but it is large under "commerce" and among those "without specified occupation, or unoccupied".

(6) Income

Exact data concerning the property and income of the Jews are very scanty, as these are nowhere the subject of official inquiries, while private inquiries naturally encounter considerable difficulties. In Germany it is possible in certain towns, with the help of taxation returns, to ascertain separately the incomes of Jews and non-Jews. Thus, in 1905, in Berlin the Jews formed 4·8 per cent of the population, but 14·3 among those paying more than 21 marks[2] income-tax, which corresponded to more than 1500 marks yearly income; and of the total paid by those assessed at more than 21 marks income-tax, the Jews paid 30·8 per cent. People with

[1] See *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 90.

[2] A mark was approximately a shilling.

less than 1500 marks income formed only a small fraction among the Jews but the majority among the non-Jews. Also in other German towns, according to Sombart,[1] the Jews paid, in 1905, three to seven times more in income-tax than the non-Jews. According to an estimate by A. Manes for 1907, the income of the Jews formed 13·3 per cent of the total income of the Berlin population, *i.e.* about three times more than their numerical percentage (4·8). Similar results were obtained by him for Frankfort-on-the-Main. The *per capita* income of the Berlin Jews shrank between 1907 and 1929, in which year it was 2800 marks, *i.e.* not three times, but less than twice, that of the non-Jews (1480 marks).

Lestschinsky, basing himself on the taxation lists of the town of Zurich, where 6662 Jewish inhabitants formed 3·2 per cent of the population, has calculated that, in 1921, the *per capita*

	Income.	Capital.
was among the Jews . .	4,740 Frcs.	22,103 Frcs.
,, ,, ,, non-Jews .	2,340 ,,	8,230 ,,

Of the Jews 18·9 per cent, and of the non-Jews 4·9, had an income of more than 10,000 francs, while 25·1 and 33·4 had one of less than 2000 francs.

In other countries, where the taxation lists are not available, conclusions about the incomes of Jews and non-Jews can be formed on other evidence, *e.g.* housing, and the number of servants employed. In 1905, in Copenhagen, of every 100 families there lived—

	Among the Jews.	Among the Total Population.
In apartments of 1–2 rooms . .	11·9	48·5
Without servants . . .	34·8	87·2

Similarly, in Budapest, 25·4 per cent of the Jews lived in one-room apartments, but 63·3 of the non-Jews.

In the United States the wealth of the Jews depends, as

[1] *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 219.

a rule, on the length of their residence in the country. Before the crisis of 1929, about 10 per cent of the American Jews could be described as rich—these were the immigrants of before 1880 and their descendants; 25 per cent were wealthy —the immigrants of 1880–1900; 50 per cent enjoyed small but secure incomes—the immigrants of 1900–1914; and 15 per cent were poor—the new-comers since the War. Since 1929 the economic crisis has considerably reduced their income and wealth,[1] and it remains to be seen whether this reduction is of a passing or of a permanent nature. Immigrants of other nationalities, too, have improved their economic position—Italians, Syrians, Armenians, or Poles —but none to the same extent as the Jews. Syrians and Armenians equal the Jews in commercial abilities, but the Jews have the advantage over them, who come mostly from backward villages in the Near East, that as Europeans and town-dwellers they adapt themselves more easily to the life of the American cities. The Sephardic and German Jews were valuable pace-makers for those from Eastern Europe, as they introduced the Jew in America as a cultured European. This, and the ease with which the Jews learn English and acquire a good education, make them rise much more quickly than, *e.g.*, the Italian or Polish immigrants, who, in most cases, remain proletarians even in the second and third generation. American writers dealing with immigration problems admire the speed with which the Jews adapt themselves to the American economic system and avail themselves of its possibilities.

Very different is the position of the Jews in Eastern Europe. In Tsarist Russia there was a small stratum of rich or wealthy Jews, while the masses lived from hand to mouth. Now no one is rich under the Soviets. The nationalization of mines, factories, stores, and transport, and the

[1] According to an estimate of the National Industrial Conference Board, the national wealth in the U.S.A. amounted in 1912 to $1950 per head, in 1920 to $4507, but in 1932 again only to $1981.

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high taxation of private business, preclude high profits, while the uncertainties of Soviet policy discourage savings.

In the years 1928–1929, in White Russia, according to official statistics, 24,972 Jews paid income-tax, including—

	Rbl.
13,230 *kustars* (artisans and home-workers) with an average yearly income of	1400
9893 merchants with an average yearly income of	1880
1264 employed in transport with an average yearly income of	1100
509 employed in professions with an average yearly income of	1520
76 farmers with an average yearly income of	1430

Thus incomes do not seem to differ much as between the various occupations. In each category the number of taxpayers with a good income is very small; one exceeding 5000 roubles a year had—

Among the *kustars*	137 = 1·0	per cent
„ „ merchants	403 = 4·1	„ „
In transport	0 = 0·0	„ „
In the professions	0 = 0·0	„ „
Among the farmers	3 = 4·0	„ „

Moreover, the total of 24,972 persons assessed for income-tax, in an aggregate Jewish population of 407,000, is remarkably small.

In post-War Poland, Governments and their economic policy have undergone repeated changes, differently affecting the economic position of the Jews; so much, however, is certain, that this has deteriorated since 1914. Jewish wealth was destroyed by the depreciation of the currency, while the separation of Poland from its former Russian *hinterland* has ruined many merchants and manufacturers. Galicia has not been affected by it, as it was never connected with the Russian markets, nor had it participated in the pre-War industrial development of Russian Poland; it is a backward country, without any chance of an extensive trade. Its Jews have remained petty traders and artisans, and many lack all sound occupational basis. In Polish Silesia, with its big

coal and iron industry, the position of the Jews, both of those long settled there and of the post-War immigrants, is comparatively good. In Posnania, where a hundred or even fifty years ago there had been many Jews, few are left, and the local government discourages Jewish immigration. The Jews in Poland suffer from the Government policy which taxes the peasants lightly and throws the main burden on the towns, *i.e.* on industry and commerce; this naturally affects the Jews most. They have further suffered from the setting up of Government monopolies for the manufacture of tobacco, spirituous drinks, and matches, for the production of salt, and for the foreign trade in timber. While in private hands these trades employed many Jews, but now licences for the sale of tobacco and spirituous liquors are given by preference to War invalids. Similarly the Jews are passed over in appointments in the general and local administration.

Moreover, in the last fifty years the Poles, who previously were engaged almost exclusively in agriculture, and left commerce and handicrafts to the Jews, have become a serious competition to them. The Government and the Polish population favour the non-Jewish merchants and artisans. The National Bank, which grants extensive credits to the Polish merchants, artisans, and farmers, tends to refuse them to the Jews. Co-operative stores and agricultural co-operatives are developing, and cut out the private trader. Jewish artisans suffer from the new Government regulations which prescribe apprenticeships and examinations for artisans setting up on their own account; and only masters who have passed such examinations are allowed to employ apprentices. The employment of Jewish workmen in factories, even in such as belong to Jews, is very restricted; *e.g.* in the textile factories at Lodz the non-Jewish workmen compel the Jewish manufacturers to replace non-Jews by other non-Jews only. Certain branches are manned exclusively by non-Jews who refuse to admit any Jews. According to a report of the Jewish community in Lodz, in

1928, of the 40,000 Jewish families only 54·3 per cent paid communal taxes, 38·8 per cent were in receipt of relief, and of 6·9 the position was unknown. Of the taxpayers, 62·7 per cent paid the lowest contribution—about $1 a year—and thus stood near the brink of destitution; and only between one-fourth and one-fifth of the Jewish families seem to have enjoyed a more or less adequate income.

The precarious position of the Jews in Poland is rendered even more serious by the stoppage of emigration to America, which, during the first years after the War, counterbalanced their considerable natural increase. Now a livelihood has to be found, not for the existing Jewish population alone, but for a yearly increase of about 30,000. So far no solution has been discovered for this problem. The American Joint Reconstruction Foundation endeavours to provide a good industrial education for young Jews; in Poland, as well as in Russia, by means of credit associations, which give loans for productive purposes, it tries to help the Jews over the present difficult times, till new industrial developments and a revival of trade with Russia may offer them a livelihood. Until then the economic position of the Jews in Poland must remain extremely serious.

Slightly better than in Poland is the position of the Jews in the Northern Border-States of Russia—in Latvia and Lithuania. Their numbers are smaller—in Poland they form 10·4 per cent of the population, in Lithuania only 7·6, and in Latvia 5; there is therefore less internal competition among them. Jewish commerce in Latvia and Lithuania has, however, suffered considerably. Since 1919–1921, when under the agrarian reform the big landed estates were broken up into small farms which are largely based on self-consumption, the commerce in agricultural produce, which was almost entirely in Jewish hands, has shrunk. Moreover, the Jews have lost their employment as agents and factors of the big landowners. Further, in Lithuania the setting up of a monopoly for the sale of spirituous liquors has damaged

the Jewish traders. In industry Jews prosper as owners of paper-mills, rubber works, corn-mills, saw-mills, etc.; as artisans they have maintained more or less their pre-War position. Here, too, the American Joint Reconstruction Foundation has started credit associations for the small traders and artisans.

In Roumania, which at the end of the War acquired three provinces inhabited by great numbers of Jews—Bessarabia from Russia, the Bukovina from Austria, and Transylvania from Hungary—the economic situation of the Jews is best in Old Roumania. There, before 1914, their position was fairly secure in commerce, industry, and handicrafts, and a considerable part of big industry and of the very important grain trade was in their hands; nor has their position in Old Roumania been impaired by the War to any marked extent. On the contrary, it has become very bad in Bessarabia where their commercial connexions before the War were with Russia, and especially with Odessa. They are now cut off from that port, and have thereby lost the export trade in grain, which previously provided a good part of their livelihood. Perhaps even greater is the economic decline of the Jews in the Bukovina. Here, under Austrian rule, their position was remarkably good; they traded in cattle and grain; one-third of all the big landed estates belonged to Jews, who besides farmed many more. Many Jews were officials or engaged in professions; anti-Semitism was almost unknown. All this has been changed since the War. The big landowners have been expropriated under the agrarian reform, commerce has lost its old connexions, the professions and administrative posts are now filled by Roumanians. The Jews have been largely thrown back on petty trade and handicrafts, and their position is most unsatisfactory. The same is the case in Transylvania. The only favourable change consists in some 3000 Jewish families, mostly in Bessarabia, having been as peasants assigned land under the post-War agrarian reform.

According to A. Manes, who has attempted to estimate the aggregate income of world-Jewry,[1] in 1929, their yearly *per capita* income amounted—

In Russia	to	275 roubles	(nominally 140 dollars).
,, Poland	,,	900 zloty	(about 100 ,,).
,, Germany	,,	2500 marks	(,, 600 ,,).
,, U.S.A.	,,	875 dollars.	
,, the entire world	,,	350 dollars.	

On that basis the aggregate income of world-Jewry would amount to 6000 million dollars.

Such figures naturally can raise no claim to precision, and they ignore the differences in the purchasing power of money. Still, they supply a rough estimate. American Jewry, which formed 27 per cent of the whole, enjoyed about 62 per cent of the aggregate income, and the average *per capita* income of the Jews in the United States was almost nine times, and in Germany six times, higher than in Poland. Since 1929 there has been a considerable fall in incomes in all countries, but especially in the United States.

[1] In the Yiddish periodical *Economy and Life* (Berlin, February 1930).

CHAPTER X

THE BEGINNINGS OF AGRICULTURE

I. AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENTS

(1) Russia

(a) *The Old Colonies*

A decree of Tsar Alexander I in 1804, regulating the position of the Jews, marks the first attempt at resettling them in agriculture, in which they had practically nowhere been engaged since the Middle Ages.[1] By that decree they were forbidden to inhabit villages or to engage in the liquor trade, which was then their main trade, but, within the Jewish Pale of Settlement, were allowed to buy or farm land in special Jewish colonies, outside the existing villages. Moreover, grants of State lands were made to them in so-called "New Russia"—the sparsely populated governments of Kherson and Yekaterinoslav—which had only just been placed under a regular administration. The Russian Government hoped to settle there 60,000 Jewish families, hitherto engaged in the liquor trade and now deprived of their means of subsistence; but by 1815 the nine colonies, founded since 1804, all in Kherson, comprised only 600 families and an aggregate population of 3852. After an

[1] Besides the medieval agricultural settlements in Southern Europe (see p. 130), there were some Jewish villages in Northern Mesopotamia, *e.g.* Sandur, about seventy miles north of Mosul, where, to this day, there are some sixty Jewish families. Also in the village of Pekiin, in Northern Palestine, the Jews have, for many centuries, lived as peasants. In the sixteenth century, according to Dubnow (*Weltgeschichte*, vol. vi. p. 289), there were Jews in Lithuania and Poland cultivating gardens and orchards, and, in some cases, farms.

interval of twenty years, the Russian Government, under Tsar Nicholas I, resumed the policy of settling Jews on the land, and on his initiative, between 1835 and 1850, twenty-eight new Jewish colonies were founded in Southern Russia. A special inducement was offered in that the colonists were freed from military service, which at that time extended over twenty-five years. Groups of Jews from Lithuania and Poland migrated to Southern Russia to take up agriculture. By 1845, 1661 families, with a total of 12,779 persons, were settled in those colonies.

Also in other parts of the Pale of Settlement, in Lithuania, Poland, the Northern Ukraine, and Bessarabia, the Jews made use of the right to buy land and to engage in agriculture on scattered farms or in special Jewish settlements. It is stated that in Poland, in 1859, the number of Jews engaged in agriculture was, including dependents, 27,971.

The attitude of the Russian Government continued favourable to Jewish agricultural colonization till the 'sixties, when the policy was reversed. In 1866 the settlement of Jews in agricultural colonies was stopped by an ukase; in 1872, 30,000 out of the 70,000 hectares[1] of State lands assigned to them in Lithuania and the Ukraine were taken away on the pretext that the land was not properly cultivated; and in 1882 a stop was put to all further extension of Jewish colonization by the Government forbidding Jews to lease or buy land.

According to the Russian census of 1897, 40,611 Jews were engaged in agriculture, making 2·67 per cent of the 1,530,307 Jews in gainful occupations. Including dependents, the number of Jews who made their living from agriculture amounted to 192,721, *i.e.* 3·81 per cent of the Jewish population.

In 1897 an inquiry by the Jewish Colonization Association

[1] One hectare = 2½ acres.

(I.C.A.) concerning the Jewish farmers in Russia established that there were :

In the Governments of Kherson and Yekaterinoslav . . .	4,603	families	comprising	32,280	persons.	
In Bessarabia—						
In the colonies . .	1,494	,,	,,	7,782	,,	
On scattered farms about	1,500	,,	,, about	8,000	,,	
In Lithuania and the Ukraine (without Kherson and Yekaterinoslav)	5,000	,,	,,	,, 30,000	,,	
Together about	12,600	,,	,,	,, 78,000	,,	

Outside these three regions, where most of them lived in special Jewish colonies and occupied a total of 150,000 hectares, there were Jewish farmers scattered throughout the Pale of Settlement—in 1897 their number was estimated at 26,000 families comprising 92,000 persons and cultivating a total of 105,000 hectares. These were mostly market gardeners in the neighbourhood of towns, growing vegetables, grapes, fruit, or tobacco. Besides there were, in 1897, some 15,000 Jewish agricultural labourers. Thus a total of 255,000 hectares was cultivated by a Jewish agricultural population of 185,000. This figure does not differ much from that of 192,721 obtained at the census.

The Jewish colonies were aided by loans from the I.C.A., which, after the War, tried to help the farmers who had lost most of their stock. In 1927 there were in the Governments of Kherson and Yekaterinoslav 48 colonies, including 7842 farms, and a Jewish population of 35,503 cultivating about 100,000 hectares land. Their economic position is still precarious, as cereals, on which their economy is based, have suffered from frequent droughts and bad harvests.

Throughout the whole of the late Jewish Pale, the Jewish farmers, unless settled in colonies of their own, live mainly in the neighbourhood of towns, and mostly combine agriculture with some other occupation; in 1930 these suburban

farmers are stated to have formed about 52 per cent of all Jewish agriculturists in Russia.

(b) *The New Colonization*[1]

In 1924 a new period of Jewish colonization opened in Russia. The Soviet Government declared its readiness to supply land for Jewish agricultural settlements, and also otherwise to promote Jewish colonization. The offer was welcomed by the American Joint Distribution Committee (J.D.C.) as a means of settling on the land a certain part of the crowd of displaced and ruined traders. In July 1924 a special American Jewish Joint Agricultural Corporation (Agrojoint) was formed by the J.D.C., with a view to carrying on the work of colonization in connexion with the Soviet Government, who, on their part, set up a special committee in Moscow, known as the "Komzet".

The Government, besides finding the land, helped the settlers by exempting them from taxation during the first three years, by granting them preferential tariffs on the railways, by supplying cheap timber for buildings, by providing seed, and by means of loans of 100 to 200 roubles. The settlers had little or no means of their own (on the average 200 roubles). To cover the cost of settlement, which, in 1927, amounted to 1100–2000 roubles, they obtained loans from the Agrojoint or one of the other Jewish colonization societies—the I.C.A., the Ort, and the Ozet, each of these colonizing a particular district. By an agreement which the Agrojoint concluded with the Soviet Government in 1929, either party undertook, during the next ten years, to supply an annual sum of one million roubles for Jewish colonization in the Ukraine and the Crimea. The area assigned to each settler amounts to 15–25 desiatines (36–60 acres), and varies with the size of his family and with the district. So far their economy is mainly

[1] Cf. my article on Jewish colonization in Russia in the Vienna periodical *Palästina*, 1928, p. 1.

based on cereals, and to a lesser extent on dairy produce (cheese). Originally the settlers were given individual farms; only in exceptional cases, were large "collective farms" founded, jointly owned and cultivated by a group of settlers, or *artels*—co-operative farms—of which the fields are cultivated in common, while the farmsteads with their stock and gardens are owned and worked by the individual settlers. In 1929 the Government tried to "collectivize" the Jewish farms, but met with strong opposition; they were able to carry out their programme only to a very limited extent, and then almost always in the milder form of *artels*.

In 1924 the Russian Government decided, during the following ten years, to settle each year 10,000 Jewish families in agriculture. The President of the Soviet Union, Kalinin, declared that this colonization of 100,000 Jewish families would be the most effective means for preserving the Russian Jews as a nation. But during the next four years the Russian Government were only able to find land for 15,000 Jewish families, and in 1929 put forward a reduced programme, providing for the settling of another 15,000 Jewish families in the Ukraine and the Crimea during the years 1930–1934. But even of this reduced programme only a small part seems to have been carried out, because, apart from the shortage of land, intending settlers are coming forward in diminishing numbers. The industrial Five Years Plan of 1929 has created a great demand for industrial labour, and given a chance to the Jews in the towns to find employment in industry; it has even caused Jewish settlers to leave the colonies, where their economic position had been rendered unsatisfactory by several bad harvests and other difficulties. The colonies lost about one-fourth of their personnel; and only about one-fifth of the new settlements in the Ukraine, planned for 1931, and in the Crimea one-half, could be established owing to the lack of applicants. At the end of 1932 the number of Jewish families

in the new colonies in the Ukraine and the Crimea amounted to about 15,000 (or a total of 55,000 inhabitants).

It seems that the Soviet Government now propose to direct Jewish agricultural settlers mainly to Biro-Bidjan (Bureya), on the Amur River. It is stated that of its 1,450,000 hectares of land, 1,300,000 are fit for cultivation. Of these, 260,000 hectares are in the possession of some 27,000 non-Jews, and 100,000–120,000 hectares must be reserved for their future requirements. Thus approximately 900,000 hectares are available for Jewish colonization, which, counting 25 hectares to the family, would provide for 36,000 families. Adding the non-agricultural population, room for 50,000 to 100,000 families could be found in that district, which is rich in mineral resources. Should considerable numbers of Jews settle in Biro-Bidjan, the Russian Government propose to grant them national autonomy and form the district into a Jewish Republic within the Union of Soviet Republics.

During the years 1928–1932, the total number of Jews transplanted by the Government to Biro-Bidjan amounted only to 18,000, of whom 11,000 re-emigrated; those who have remained are engaged in agriculture (mostly on collective farms), and in handicrafts. According to a plan published towards the end of 1932, 300,000 people, the majority of them Jews, were to be settled in Biro-Bidjan between 1933 and 1937, finding employment in agriculture, industry, and mining. The Government planned to spend 263 million roubles on its agricultural settlements, besides very considerable sums for industry, electric works, railways, schools, and public health. For 1933 the settling of a Jewish population of 25,000 was planned, but, later on, the figure was reduced to 17,000, and finally to 6800; half of them were to be farmers, while the others were to work in factories, the building trade, and transport. The expense of settling a family, not counting land, amounts to 2000 roubles. As the I.C.A. and the Agrojoint do not favour colonization in Biro-Bidjan, the necessary means have to be provided by the

Russian Government and the Russian-Jewish Colonization Association, "Ozet".

It would be premature, on the basis of the available data, to pronounce a final judgment concerning the prospects of colonization in Biro-Bidjan. So much, however, is clear, that the economic and psychological difficulties in the way of colonizing Jews in that very distant, uncivilized province will necessarily be much greater than even in the Ukraine or the Crimea. It is stated that in 1928, 48 per cent of the new settlers left Biro-Bidjan, 63 per cent in 1929, and 60 per cent in 1931, because they were unable to adapt themselves to the new surroundings. In consequence, in 1932, the Government decided in future to examine the applicants much more strictly with regard to their fitness for agricultural work, this, and not their need of employment, determining the selection. Further, also, foreign Jews are to be admitted to Biro-Bidjan; in fact, during the last years about one hundred families have gone there from America, Belgium, Poland, and Palestine, but a number of them have returned.

(2) Poland, Lithuania, and Latvia

According to the Polish census of 1921, 159,147 Jews, *i.e.* 5·74 per cent of their total number, derived their livelihood from agriculture (155,006 from cultivating land, from cattle-breeding, gardening, etc., and 4441 in connexion with forestry, fisheries, and hunting):

24,970 of them worked on their own account, owning or leasing land.
2,023 as administrative officials or foremen.
9,406 as labourers.
53,534 were dependents assisting the heads of the families.
69,160 dependents not gainfully employed.
54 remained unspecified.

The number is comparatively large. But, besides working

farmers who live from agriculture only, it includes big landowners who work their own, or rented, land with non-Jewish labour, or lease out small plots to non-Jewish peasants; farmers who combine agriculture with some other occupation; suburban, or even urban, poultry farmers, dairy producers, market gardeners, and fruit-growers. Since 1921 the number of Jewish farmers has diminished, as under the agrarian reform the land of a certain number of the Jewish big landowners has been taken from them, in return for compensation. The Jews who used to rent estates from big landowners have almost completely disappeared, and so have the so-called "War farmers", who, because of the high prices of food during the War and the next few years, had taken to dairying or market gardening on the outskirts of the towns. At present (1933) the Jewish agricultural population in Poland can be put, at the best, at 20,000 families and a total of 100,000. Very few Jews were given land under the agrarian reform. The position of the Jewish farmers in Poland is almost everywhere unsatisfactory. Their holdings are mostly very small, on the outskirts of towns, and their economy is based on dairy produce and vegetables. The scanty returns compel them to seek some other occupation besides agriculture.

There are in Lithuania 2000–3000 Jewish families engaged in agriculture, and they form about 10 per cent of the Jewish population. Their economy is very primitive; about one-third of the holdings comprise less than twelve desiatines (30 acres), and the insufficient returns compel their owners to seek employment as carriers, drivers, artisans, or traders. The farmers in the Jewish colonies grow mainly cereals, while outside of the Jewish colonies they are mostly of the suburban type.

In Latvia very few Jews are engaged in agriculture. At the census of 1925 their number, including dependents,

amounted to 867, *i.e.* 0·9 per cent of the Jewish population. No land was assigned to them when the agrarian reform was carried through in 1920–1921.

(3) Roumania

At the end of the War, the province of Bessarabia passed from Russia to Roumania; and to the 3000 families in its old Jewish agricultural colonies another 3000 families were added which, under the agrarian reform of 1921–1922, received from the Government small holdings of 2–6 hectares in, or near, the existing Jewish colonies. Besides, there are a few hundred Jewish families scattered in Christian villages, tilling their own or hired land. Vineyards, tobacco plantations, and market gardens form important branches of Jewish agriculture in Bessarabia.

(4) Carpatho-Russia

In Carpatho-Russia, which before the War belonged to Hungary and now forms part of Czechoslovakia, at the census of 1921, 25,128 Jews were enumerated (including dependents) who earned their livelihood in agriculture. They formed 26·92 per cent of the Jewish population of Carpatho-Russia, and 6·12 of its total agricultural population. Their economy is of an exceedingly primitive character. The soil in the mountain villages in which most of these farmers live is very poor, and the climate is cold; it is not possible to grow cereals, only potatoes, hay, and in some parts hemp. The Jews, who since the end of the eighteenth century had been coming into that district from across the Galician border, were able to acquire land, which was priced very low, and bought it extensively since, about the middle of the nineteenth century, the Hungarian

laws allowed them to do so. The land belonging to Jews lies mainly in the district of Marmarosh. Most of the Jewish holdings are very small—one or two hectares—and their produce is hardly sufficient to supply potatoes for the household and fodder for one cow. Their owners must seek additional occupation, and find it mostly in the felling and transport of timber. They are probably the most modest and primitive Jewish farmers to be found anywhere. They live in wooden houses, with slatted or thatched roofs, and seldom eat meat. Since the War, cases have multiplied of their selling or letting their holdings to Ruthenian peasants, and emigrating or going into the towns.

In the other provinces of Czechoslovakia the number of Jewish farmers is less. In 1921 the number of Jews engaged in agriculture, including dependents, was in Slovakia 14,569, forming 10·7 per cent of its Jewish population, and 8 per cent of its total agricultural population; in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, 3564, forming 2·8 per cent of their Jewish, and 1·1 per thousand of their total agricultural population. Jewish agriculture in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia is chiefly conducted on large farms; while in Slovakia the Jewish agriculturists are middling landowners, farmers, or employees on such farms, and only in the neighbourhood of towns small-holders engaged in dairying and fruit-growing. Deducting agriculturists who perform no manual labour, but own or lease landed estates, the number of Jewish farmers in Czechoslovakia (outside Carpatho-Russia) probably does not exceed 1500.

(5) The Argentine and Brazil

The Jewish Colonization Association (I.C.A.), founded in Paris, in the 'eighties, by Baron Maurice Hirsch for the purpose of settling Jews in agriculture, and endowed with a capital of 200 million francs, has since 1890 acquired about 600,000 hectares of land (about 1,500,000 acres) in the

Argentine. Its original scheme was to settle Jewish farmers who suffered from oppression in Russia, but subsequently it extended its work to Jews who had not previously been farmers. By the end of 1927, 373,272 hectares of the land of the I.C.A. had been taken up, and 228,100 were under cultivation. There were some fifteen agricultural colonies consisting—

At the end of	1892	of	509	farms.
,, ,,	1900	,,	906	,,
,, ,,	1905	,,	1251	,.
,, ,,	1910	,,	2114	,,
,, ,,	1913	,,	2655	,,
,, ,,	1924	,,	2661	,,
,, ,,	1927	,,	2943	,,

On some farms more than one family was settled, *e.g.* the parents and a married son, or two married brothers. At the end of 1927 there were 3563 families engaged in agriculture, comprising a population of 19,732, besides 2521 non-agricultural Jewish families, with a total of 13,352; so that the aggregate Jewish population of the colonies consisted of 6084 families and 33,084 inhabitants. Moreover, sixteen urban settlements had grown up in the neighbourhood of the agricultural colonies, engaged in commerce, handicrafts, transport, etc., and comprising a population of 16,874 (among them 6780 non-Jews).

The fifteen colonies are in the provinces of Buenos Aires (Mauricio and Baron Hirsch), Santa Fé (Moiseville and Montefiore), Santiago del Estero (Dora), Entre Rios (nine colonies), and one colony in the district of the Pampas (Narcisse Leven). They lie in latitude 31 to 38, *i.e.* in a temperate climate. Their transport facilities are excellent; they are connected with the main railway lines, and are within easy reach of the capital of Buenos Aires, and of the main ports. On the other hand, their cultural cohesion is impaired by the land of the I.C.A. not forming a compact whole, but being divided between 5 provinces and 15 estates.

Originally the colonists mainly went in for cattle-breeding. Most of the 150 hectares (370 acres) assigned to each colonist were used for pasture, and the cattle were sold for meat. Gradually the colonists took up dairying, and also the cultivation of cereals, flax, and fodder, as the low price of meat rendered cattle-breeding unprofitable. At the end of 1927 the average farm comprised 123 hectares. The value of the harvest of 1927, from 228,100 hectares, was 4,121,000 pesos, *i.e.* 1400 pesos = 588 dollars, per colonist. Generally speaking, their position is favourable; many have even grown rich. They have profited by the great economic development of the Argentine, by railways being brought near to the colonies, and by the very considerable rise in land values. In time they have also acquired a thorough knowledge of agriculture. They suffer, however, from frequent droughts and from locusts, and from their dependence on exports. The neighbourhood of railways and easy access to the cities has induced many colonists, who have by now paid off their debts to the I.C.A., to let their land to non-Jews or to sell it, and to engage in urban occupations. This tendency is most marked in the second or third generation. On the other hand, by 1927 the sons of colonists had bought, with their own money, a further 10,000 hectares in the neighbourhood of the colonies Baron Hirsch, Narcisse Leven, and Entre Rios. Life in the colonies begins to assume an urban character, as is shown by the high percentage of the non-agricultural population in the colonies and in the urban townships connected with them.

At the end of 1927 the I.C.A. still had a land reserve of 211,000 hectares in the Argentine, sufficient to settle 1000–1500 new colonists. As land can no longer be bought on a large scale in the Argentine, or only at very high prices, the I.C.A. is turning its attention to Uruguay, but, so far, no purchase of land has been concluded.

Measuring the success of the Argentine colonization by

the hopes of its authors, who expected by that means to alleviate Jewish misery in Eastern Europe, its results are practically nil, as the 3500 families of colonists signify little, as against the 7 millions of East European Jewry. The work was started with very considerable funds and was to have marked a turning-point in the life of the East European Jews; but in effect colonization in the Argentine has had no influence on Jewish life in other countries. The I.C.A. can, however, justly claim that its agricultural work made the country known to the Jews in Eastern Europe, and has resulted in 200,000 Jews being now settled in the Argentine towns.

In Brazil the I.C.A. owns 100,000 hectares, and has founded two colonies, Quatre Irmaos and Philippson, which in 1927 comprised 200 Jewish farms with a total population of 1500 (besides a few hundred non-Jewish farmers). Both colonies engage in the cultivation of cereals, in cattle-breeding, and forestry. Their economic position seems satisfactory, but it is doubtful whether, in their non-Jewish surroundings, they will escape being swamped by non-Jewish elements. The I.C.A. is now trying to acquire more land in Brazil.

(6) The United States

In the late 'eighties some immigrants from Eastern Europe turned to agriculture, taking up especially the subsidiary branches—market-gardening, poultry-farming, flower-farming, and dairying—in the neighbourhood of big cities, such as Philadelphia and New York. Some had been engaged in similar work in Eastern Europe, others were traders or artisans, who meant to start a new life in a new country. With a view to helping and advising them, the I.C.A., jointly with the Baron Hirsch Fund, in 1900, founded in New York a Jewish Agricultural Society. Its chief task was to supply credits, and by the end of 1932 it

had advanced 6 million dollars in loans, of which the greatest part has been repaid. The Jewish farmers live everywhere intermixed with non-Jews, some scattered in the neighbourhood of cities on the Atlantic coast, others in groups within townships. Besides, there are a few hundred Jewish farmers in California. In 1932 their total number in the United States was estimated at 15,000 families and 100,000 persons.

The position of the Jewish farmers does not differ from that of other American farmers. They combine, however, agriculture with other occupations—they take in boarders during the summer vacations, work as tailors, etc., and remain in the neighbourhood of cities; and, not unlike their Christian neighbours, they continue in agriculture merely so long as it is profitable, but exchange it for another occupation if that offers better prospects. Such a transition is facilitated by their living in non-Jewish surroundings, and being easily able to sell their farms. With a view to professional instruction, the Jewish Agricultural Society publishes a Yiddish paper, called *The Jewish Farmer*.

(7) Canada

The first Jewish farmers in Canada settled towards the end of the nineteenth century, partly on scattered farms among non-Jews, and partly in groups. Many received their homesteads from the Canadian Government. Later on, between 1900 and 1911, several agricultural settlements were founded by the I.C.A. There are at the present time about ten colonies administered by it in the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, of which the best known are Edenbridge, Lipton, and Hirsch; they comprise 200 families, with an aggregate population of 800, and engage in the cultivation of cereals, in cattle-breeding, and dairying. In 1927 about 27,000 acres (11,000 hectares) were

under cultivation. About the same number of Jewish farmers in these provinces live scattered outside the colonies, often combining agriculture with commerce. Besides, there are a few hundred Jewish farmers in Quebec and Ontario; most of them are market gardeners, or take in lodgers in the summer. At the Canadian census of 1921, the total of Jews enumerated in agriculture was, including their dependents, 5301. The position of the farmers was unsatisfactory. Like the non-Jews, they suffered from the low price of agricultural produce, and many, therefore, were abandoning agriculture and moving into the towns.

(8) Palestine

The first tentative attempts at colonization in Palestine resulted, in 1855, in the purchase of a small estate near Jaffa by Sir Moses Montefiore; in 1870 in the founding of the Agricultural School, Mikveh Israel, near Jaffa, by Charles Netter, the representative of the Alliance Israélite Universelle; and in 1878 in the first purchase of land near Mulebbis, the later Petach Tikwah, by pious Jews from Jerusalem. The year 1882 marks, however, the real beginning of the agricultural colonization of Palestine, when the colony of Petach Tikwah was definitely established, and Rishon le Zion, Sichron Jacob, and Rosh Pinah were founded by Jewish immigrants from Russia and Roumania. From then onwards there has been steady progress which has been marked by the regular establishment of new colonies.

Three periods can be distinguished in the history of Jewish colonization in Palestine:

(1) 1882–1899, the time of the patriarchal colonization by Baron Edmond de Rothschild, based on vineyards.

(2) 1900–1914, the time of the systematic philanthropic colonization by the I.C.A., based on cereals, and of the first attempts at colonization by the Zionist Organization; in

that period the first orange plantations were started by private enterprise.

(3) From 1919 to this day, the time of extensive Zionist colonization based on mixed agriculture, largely on dairying, and of the great extension of orange plantations by settlers with means of their own.

The colonization during the first period was carried on by young Jews from Russia and Roumania, enthusiastic Zionists, who came to Palestine without sufficient means or knowledge, but found a patron in Baron Edmond de Rothschild, of Paris; he assisted them with money and expert guidance, helped them over the worst time, and gave their work a definite direction by planting vineyards and establishing great central wine-cellars in Rishon le Zion and Sichron Jacob. He is rightly described as the father of Jewish colonization in Palestine. At the end of this period, in 1899, there were 21 settlements in Palestine, with an agricultural population of about 3000.

In 1900 the administration of the Rothschild colonies was handed over to the I.C.A., which, between 1900 and 1907, founded new colonies in Lower Galilee, based on the cultivation of cereals. Between 1908 and 1914 the Zionist Organization established five big farms, near Jaffa, in the Emek Jesreel (the Plain of Esdraelon), and on the Lake of Tiberias, based mainly on dairying and plantations, and run either by a manager with hired labour, or by a co-operative of the labourers. Also a few private Jewish societies, from Eastern Europe and America, founded farms and plantations with their own means. In the old Rothschild colonies orange groves were planted and proved very profitable. The War prevented for the time being an extension of colonization, but did no essential damage to the existing colonies. At the end of the War there were 43 settlements comprising 90,000 acres, and an agricultural population of 7500.

Jewish interest in Palestinian colonization was greatly stimulated by the Balfour Declaration and the conferring

of the Palestine Mandate on Great Britain. Considerable sums of money were collected by the Zionist Organization through its two funds, the Jewish National Fund and the Keren Hayessod, which enabled it to purchase big compact areas of land in the Emek Jesreel and in the coastal plain, and to proceed with systematic colonization. At the same time an experimental station was founded for scientific research into agricultural problems. For colonists only younger people were chosen who had received a few years of agricultural training. A mixed type of agriculture was introduced into the new colonies, based on dairying, but combining with it the cultivation of cereals, fodder, and vegetables, poultry farming, bee-keeping, and plantations. The colonies consist either of independent homesteads (*moschaw owdim*), each settler working his own land, or collectively organized (*kvuzah*), a group of settlers working a larger farm in common, and jointly owning even the farm buildings and stock.

The land of the Zionist colonies is the property of the National Fund and is given to the settlers on a perpetual lease. They receive, as a rule, 100–150 dunam[1] land, of which about 5 dunam are irrigated, the whole being worth about £500. The further cost of settlement (£600–£700 per family), is covered by loans from the Keren Hayessod. Recently, the Jewish National Fund and the Keren Hayessod have helped settlers wishing to plant small orange groves, by giving them 15–25 dunam irrigable land in the coastal plain, and loans.

Altogether between 1919 and 1933 some 50 new colonies were founded by the Keren Hayessod, by the P.I.C.A. (Palestine Jewish Colonization Association, a subsidiary company of the I.C.A.), or by private enterprise. The area of orange groves planted by Jews with private means has risen from 10,000 dunam in 1924 to more than 100,000 in 1933; these plantations yield good returns, as the Jaffa

[1] Four dunam = one acre.

orange, owing to its excellent quality, commands a high price in Great Britain and other countries. Besides, there are some 50,000 dunam of other plantations (almond, olive, and banana trees, and vineyards) in Jewish possession.

According to the census of 1931, 12,306 Jews were engaged in agriculture, making with their dependents a total of 27,017. Since 1931 the number of Jews in agriculture has risen still further, and at present (1933) there are about 100 Jewish agricultural colonies with 50,000 inhabitants, of whom about two-thirds live by agriculture (including 10,000 labourers). The area in Jewish possession amounts to about 1,100,000 dunam, *i.e.* 275,000 acres.

The position of the Galilean colonies, based on cereals, is unsatisfactory, and attempts are being made to change over to a mixed form of agriculture, and especially to dairy farming. The colonies based on mixed agriculture prosper, and are approaching a condition of financial independence. Best of all is the position where 5–10 per cent of the land is irrigable and it was possible to grow green fodder. The position of the orange planters is excellent; to some extent they employ cheap Arab labour, as is also the case in the cereal colonies in Galilee. In the Zionist colonies all the labour is done by the settlers themselves, or with the help of Jewish labourers. In 1932–1933, more than two million cases of oranges, of a value of £500,000, were exported by the Jewish planters.

Zionist colonization in Palestine differs from colonization in other countries in that in itself it is not the ultimate aim either of the Zionist Organization or of the settlers, but primarily serves the purpose of building up the Jewish National Home in Palestine. This explains why such great sacrifices in money, life, and health have been made for it in the last thirty years. The difficulties of colonization in Palestine were enormous under Turkish rule, and are not small even now. Originally malaria was prevalent in the entire country, and only since the War have conditions

improved, thanks to the work done on the draining of marshes by the Jewish National Fund and the Government. The soil is ruined by centuries of irrational cultivation. Irrigation on a large scale is possible in the coastal plain, but quite recently water has been found also in many other districts, in the deeper strata, which opens up new possibilities for agriculture. The Arab fellahin, frugal, skilled, and hard-working, produce vegetables, eggs, and poultry at low prices, and are formidable competitors for the Jewish colonists. These, with their European standard of life, can assert themselves only by engaging in different branches of production, by making capital investments, and by developing more intensive forms of agriculture which result in a more profitable type of economy.

Against these handicaps, Palestinian colonization, when compared with colonization in other countries, has only one, but a supremely important, advantage—the national enthusiasm of the settlers, which enables them more easily to overcome difficulties. By their labour they mean to lay the foundations of the Jewish National Home which, they hope, will send a new current of life through world-Jewry. Deprived of this hope, colonization in Palestine would become senseless; but as the result depends not on numbers alone, but also on the mental and moral level of the Jewish settlers, spiritual factors, such as do not enter into Jewish colonization in other countries, play a decisive part, *e.g.* the Hebrew language, the ethical standards of the settlers, their understanding of Judaism, etc. Colonization in Palestine and the new Jewish colonization in Soviet Russia, though similar in technical and economic matters, differ fundamentally in their social, cultural, and national contents. Colonization in the Ukraine and the Crimea—to say nothing of the incipient colonization in Biro-Bidjan—is meant to provide a basis of existence for 20,000–30,000 Jewish families in Russia; colonization in Palestine is an attempt to form a national centre with a Jewish culture

and thereby to strengthen Jewish national consciousness throughout the world.

(9) Summary

Summing up the figures in this chapter, the following numbers are obtained of Jews engaged in agriculture:

In Russia . .	45,000	families, with a total of			250,000	persons.[1]
,, Poland . .	20,000	,,	,,	,,	100,000	,,
,, Lithuania . .	3,000	,,	,,	,,	15,000	,,
,, Latvia . .	200	,,	,,	,,	1,000	,,
,, Bessarabia . .	5,000	,,	,,	,,	30,000	,,
,, Czechoslovakia, including Carpatho-Russia . .	5,000	,,	,,	,,	30,000	,,
,, the Argentine .	3,500	,,	,,	,,	20,000	,,
,, Brazil . . .	200	,,	,,	,,	1,000	,,
,, the United States	15,000	,,	,,	,,	80,000	,,
,, Canada . .	800	,,	,,	,,	5,000	,,
,, Palestine . .	5,000	,,	,,	,,	28,000	,,
	102,700				560,000	

[1] This includes 21,000 families in the old and new colonies in the Ukraine and the Crimea, 2000 in the Caucasus and Uzbekistan, 2000 in Biro-Bidjan, and 20,000 suburban agriculturists who mostly combine agriculture with other professions.

These figures do not include the Jews who appear as agriculturists in the official statistics of Germany, Galicia, Hungary, and the Bukovina, and most of whom are big landowners or farmers working their land with non-Jewish labour or tenants. The number of Jews living by agriculture may be estimated at about 600,000, *i.e.* 3·6 per cent of world-Jewry, and the land owned by them at 5,500,000 acres.

Considering that the beginnings of Jewish colonization go back more than a century, and that during the last fifty years big sums of money have been employed for it from the funds of the two richest Jews of the time, Baron Roth-

schild and Baron Hirsch, the result appears slight; but the transfer of town inhabitants into agriculture is everywhere a difficult and expensive undertaking. The city dweller, accustomed to an easier and more exciting life, has little inclination to return to the primitive and dull life of the village. But even if, in exceptional cases, he decides to do so, it remains questionable whether he will persevere, for the task of the new settler is exceedingly difficult. He must learn agricultural work and compete with those born to it; and he has to do even more, for he does not carry on a going concern, but must build up a new economy. He has to count with many unknown factors—the soil, the markets, hygienic conditions, etc.—each of them a rock on which he can easily founder. Moreover, farmers by inheritance and tradition usually find help in their parents and in their children; whereas the new settler is, in most cases, alone, or has a wife and young children, and must do the work divided elsewhere between three generations; he is not a link in a chain, but starts a chain, and has to some extent to carry the burden of the coming generations. Colonization, if successful, has the advantage of securing a safe basis of existence also for the future generations of his family; and the slow rate at which all colonization progresses is acceptable, if further generations continue on the farmsteads. But where there is no such hope, and one generation alone remains on the land, money and labour are misapplied.

II. AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

The agricultural education of the Jewish children is much more difficult than that of non-Jewish children, who are almost without exception sons of farmers, brought up in agricultural surroundings. These are familiar with the work, and all they lack is certain theoretical information, which they can acquire in a comparatively short time, in winter

schools or from travelling teachers. The Jewish children, on the other hand, are town-born and have laboriously to acquire the knowledge which, to the non-Jewish children, has come without conscious exertion; they require an education extending over several years.

The most important Jewish agricultural school is that of Mikveh Israel, near Jaffa, founded in 1870 by Charles Netter, and maintained by the Alliance Israélite Universelle. In 1933 it had 200 pupils of the age of 14–18 and attending a three years' course. A second agricultural school for Jewish boys is now (in 1933) being built at Mesha (Galilee) by the Palestine Government, from funds left by the Jewish philanthropist, the late Mr. Kadoorie. An agricultural school for Jewish girls, with about 70 pupils, at Nahalal, in the Emek Jesreel, is maintained by the Women's International Zionist Organization (W.I.Z.O.), which has also established a big training farm for girls at Ness-Ziona. The school at Benshemen, in Palestine, with 300 pupils, provides besides a general, also an agricultural education. Outside Palestine, there is the Jewish school for gardeners at Ahlem, near Hanover, and another at Budapest. In Soviet Russia there is an agricultural school in the Jewish colony of Novopoltavka which, in 1926–1927, had 194 pupils, and there is a Yiddish Chair in the Agricultural Academy at Horki in White Russia. In the United States there is only the National Farm School in Doylestown, near Philadelphia, which, in 1927, had 165 pupils; the agricultural school at Woodbine, founded in 1893 by the Baron Hirsch Fund, was closed after an existence of about thirty years. The total number of pupils in all the Jewish agricultural schools in the world is less than 1000; they supply the kind of instruction which is required for the working of a small or middle-sized farm. There are no Jewish schools for higher agricultural education, but Jews attend non-Jewish High Schools of Agriculture, especially in Vienna and Berlin, and in Southern France, Italy, and California.

In Palestine young Jews receive a practical agricultural education by joining the *kvuzoth* (collective farms) or the similarly organized *kibbuzim*. Outside Palestine there are in Poland, Lithuania, and Roumania, a few training farms for young Jews, subsidized by the Society Hehaluz. The Zionist Federation Mizrachi maintains a training farm near Fulda, in Hesse; and a few other small training farms have been established quite recently in the neighbourhood of Berlin.

Another way in which young Jews obtain agricultural training is by taking employment as labourers on private farms. In the Jewish colonies in Palestine many thousands of men and girls are thus employed. They hope, after a few years, to settle on their own, with the help of the Jewish organizations, either in the colonies in which they work, or in new colonies. Outside Palestine, in Poland, Roumania, France, Holland, Denmark, and Germany, the Hehaluz has placed several hundred young Jews as apprentices in non-Jewish agricultural concerns.

CHAPTER XI

THE JEWS IN HANDICRAFTS AND INDUSTRY

OFFICIAL statistics, if they at all correlate the religion of people with their occupations, nowhere distinguish between the size and nature of the works in which, *e.g.*, the Jews are employed. This is specially regrettable with regard to industry in its wider sense, as its various forms—handicrafts, home industries, work in factories—place those employed under very different economic and social conditions. A shoemaker and the owner of a big shoe-factory both appear as "working on own account in the manufacture of shoes", although their professional activities and economic standing differ widely. Handicrafts usually denote works in which not more than five or ten workmen are employed, and which supply their produce to the consumer direct. In home industries workmen are employed on piece-work, at home or in a common workshop, and deliver their produce to a sub-contractor who supplies them with raw materials. The sub-contractor, in turn, is economically dependent on a merchant or manufacturer from whom he receives his contracts.

In the case of certain trades it can be deduced from their very nature that in all probability they are carried on as handicrafts (*e.g.* barbers, butchers, bakers, glaziers, etc.).

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(1) PRUSSIA

Of the German occupational census of 1925, detailed results are available for Prussia,[1] where of 225,523 Jews

[1] Silbergleit, *Die Bevölkerungs- und Berufsverhältnisse der Juden im Deutschen Reich*, vol. i. p. 99 (Berlin, 1930).

gainfully occupied, 49,318, *i.e.* 21·9 per cent, were engaged in industry (including mining and the building trades) and in handicrafts. While the percentage of Jews in the total population was 1·06, they formed 0·63 per cent of those engaged in handicrafts and industry, and 2·26 of those working on their own account (not including home workers who, in the Prussian statistics, appear as working on own account, but in reality are not economically independent).

Foremost with regard to the number of Jews engaged, were the clothing trade with 21,881, and the food industries with 7854, comprising 60·4 per cent of all Jews engaged in industry and handicrafts, and 66·5 of those working on own account. Further, in engineering and instrument-making, especially in the watch industry, the textile, building, and metal trades, there were about 2000 Jews engaged in each. Their numbers were smallest in mining, in stone and pottery works, in printing and the building trade. Very different results are obtained if only those working on own account are considered—there were industries in which the Jews did not form even 1 per cent among the employees and labourers, but 4–6 of those working on own account. The difference is specially striking in the printing trade, where the respective figures were 0·1 and 4·3 per cent—there were a good many Jews among the owners of printing works but hardly any among the workmen; similarly in the paper, textile, and chemical industries. In the garment trade, on the other hand, the Jews formed 2·3 per cent of the total engaged, and only 2·1 of those working on own account; these among the non-Jews were mostly small tailors, but among the Jews, owners of large workshops.

The following numbers of Jews were employed in occupations which by nature are wholly or predominantly handicrafts or home industries:

1. Clothing trade	12,908,	including 3,688 women.
2. Butchers and meat-packers .	4,075 „	1,083 „

3.	Manufacture of underwear and aprons	2,250	including	694	women.
4.	Hatters and milliners	2,054	,,	1,354	,,
5.	Shoemakers	1,976	,,	252	,,
6.	Printers	1,014	,,	177	,,
7.	Furriers	939	,,	125	,,
8.	Cigarette-makers	767	,,	193	,,
9.	Bakers and confectioners	727	,,	165	,,
10.	Manufacture of spirituous liquors	685	,,	129	,,
11.	Leather workers and saddlers	661	,,	85	,,
12.	Instrument makers and opticians	636	,,	57	,,
13.	Knitwear	506	,,	90	,,

Between 200 and 500 Jews were further engaged as makers of ties and belts, as seamstresses, cap-makers, in the wool industry, as plumbers and fitters, in the cotton industry, in photography, as barbers, as locksmiths, and in the manufacture of artificial flowers and feathers. Numbers 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, and 13 in this list are part of the garment industry in its wider sense, and comprise 20,633, *i.e.* 41·8 per cent, of the Jews engaged in industry and handicrafts.

The foreign Jews, who in Prussia formed 18 per cent of all Jews gainfully occupied, were most numerous in the following trades:[1]

		Per cent.				
1.	Furriers	510	forming	54·3	of all Jews occupied in the trade.	
2.	Tobacco trade	631	,,	47·1	,,	,, ,,
3.	Shoemakers	862	,,	43·6	,,	,, ,,
4.	Instrument makers and opticians	277	,,	38·4	,,	,, ,,
5.	Barbers	98	,,	34·0	,,	,, ,,
6.	Seamstresses	126	,,	31·4	,,	,, ,,
7.	Tailors	3905	,,	30·3	,,	,, ,,
8.	Confectioners	104	,,	29·5	,,	,, ,,

These trades are predominantly carried on as handicrafts or home industries, and even of the foreign Jews, after some time, a certain proportion used to leave them for commerce.

[1] See Silbergleit, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 103.

A survey of the younger generation of Jews in handicrafts is obtained by considering their numbers and distribution as journeymen and apprentices. There were—

With tailors	1644
,, dressmakers . . .	842
,, butchers	806
,, seamstresses . . .	681
,, milliners	506

and 200–500 with locksmiths, fitters, furriers, cooks, printers, bakers, waiters, carpenters, varnishers, and shoemakers. Glaziers, watchmakers, and plumbers, who in the past were numerous among the Jews, had less than 200 Jewish journeymen and apprentices. Among the journeymen and apprentices in the fur trade, which in Eastern Europe is mainly Jewish, there were 107 German Jews, and 220 foreign Jews. Of the 1644 tailors 864 were foreign, of the 842 dressmakers 254, and of the 681 seamstresses 221.

(2) Czechoslovakia

According to the census of 1921, of the Jews gainfully occupied 7·2 per cent were in the garment trade, and 4·7 in the food trade, forming 3·1 and 3·5 per cent of all engaged in those trades, while their percentage in the total population was only 2·6.

The occupational distribution of the Jews differed widely between the highly developed provinces of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, and the backward provinces of Slovakia and Carpatho-Russia. The Jews formed—

	In the Total Population.	Among those engaged in Industry and Handicrafts.
In Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia	1·3 per cent	0·7 per cent.
,, Slovakia	4·5 ,,	5·7 ,,
,, Carpatho-Russia . . .	15·4 ,,	34·4 ,,

The participation of the Jews in handicrafts is greatest where the economic development is least advanced and their percentage is highest in the population, so that they cannot live by commerce alone.

In certain trades in Carpatho-Russia, where big industry hardly exists, the Jews formed the majority of workmen, thus—

In the garment trade	68·0 per cent.
„ hide and leather industries . .	55·7 „
„ food industries	52·2 „

(3) East European Immigrants in Central and Western Europe

There are numbers of East European immigrants engaged in industry and handicrafts in France, Belgium, and Great Britain, mostly in Paris, Antwerp, and London. While in Germany the Yiddish-speaking East European Jews easily learn the language, and therefore are soon able to pass from handicrafts to commerce, in Paris and London they long remain artisans. An inquiry instituted in Paris in 1910 showed that 16,060 East European Jews (the figure includes dependents) lived by handicrafts, and that of these there were engaged—

In the garment trade	71·4 per cent.
„ metal trades (plumbers, watchmakers, etc.) .	16·8 „
„ wood trade	6·2 „
In other handicrafts	1·9 „

While in Eastern Europe only about half of the Jewish artisans were engaged in the garment trade, in Paris there were more than 70 per cent. Of the 11,460 in that trade—

About 7000 were tailors.
„ 2000 „ cap-makers.
„ 1400 „ furriers.
„ 1200 „ shoemakers.

The manufacture of a certain kind of cap was introduced in Paris by East European Jews some thirty or forty years ago, and has to this day remained their speciality.

Since 1910, and especially since the War, the number of East European Jews in France, and therefore of Jewish artisans, has increased considerably through immigration. Only a small number has settled in provincial towns, the vast majority remaining in Paris.

In Belgium, the Jewish immigrants are mainly diamond-cutters at Antwerp, and also tailors and leather-workers.

Even more than in France, the garment-workers predominate among the East European Jews in England, where besides London they inhabit Manchester and Leeds. The children of the immigrants seldom remain in the trade, but pass on to commerce or professions.

With the Jewish artisans in Palestine, which may here be included, next to the garment and cleaning trades, the foremost place is taken by the building trades (masons, carpenters, painters, etc.), which provide housing for the new immigrants. Here, for the first time, Jews have taken to all branches of the building trade. According to the official census of 1931, of 19,235 Jews engaged in industry and handicrafts there were—

In the garment and cleaning trades . . .	5182
„ building trades	5111
„ wood industry	1888
„ food trade	1719
„ metal trade	978
In power stations and other works . . .	600
In the textile trade	591
„ printing trade	568
In other trades	3188

Besides, there were 410 Jews working in quarries and salt-mines, and 3155 in transport (including 1735 motor-drivers). In Palestine the Jews enter in considerable numbers occu-

pations such as work in power stations, in quarries, etc., in which they are hardly to be found in Europe.

According to a census made by the Jewish Agency in 1933, the capital invested in Jewish industry amounted to £4,630,000 and the value of its annual output to £3,590,000.

(4) Eastern Europe

(a) *Before the War*

Jewish artisans are much more numerous in Eastern than in Central Europe. Before the War they formed in the Russian part of the "Pale of Settlement" (*i.e.* outside Poland) 80 per cent of all artisans in the towns, and 50 per cent in the villages. In 1898, according to an inquiry of the I.C.A., there were in the entire "Pale of Settlement" 500,986 Jewish artisans, of whom 51·8 per cent were masters, 28·0 journeymen, and 20·2 apprentices. The garment trade held the first place, far ahead of the food, wood, and metal trades. In Warsaw before the War, some 45,000 Jewish artisans were making ties, buttons, combs, cheap jewellery, hats, and underwear, mainly for the Russian market.

In Galicia, in 1910, the percentage of Jews among those engaged in industry and handicrafts was 25·8, *i.e.* two and a half times greater than in the total population (10·1 per cent). Greatest of all was their percentage in the paper and leather trades, in the food industry, in the garment and cleaning trades, and in chemical works; whereas their numbers were small in power stations, electric, gas, and water works, and in mines.

(b) *Poland since the War*

The War and the rise of new States with new tariff barriers within the territories of the late Russian Empire, have severely affected Jewish handicrafts and home in-

dustries. This specially applies to the provinces of Poland previously included in Russia. During 1919–1925, when the artisans in Poland were severely hampered by a shortage of raw materials, while commerce seemed to offer considerable profits owing to the currency inflation, many Jewish artisans left their trades and were unable to resume them afterwards. According to the Polish census of 1921, 297,417 Jews formed 23·5 per cent of all persons engaged in industry and handicrafts: 46·6 per cent of these Jews were in the garment trade, 15·4 in the food trade, 8·2 in textiles, and 29·8 in other trades. In the following list the various trades are arranged according to the percentage which the Jews formed among those engaged in them:

Gold- and silver-smiths	62·8 per cent.
Hide and leather trade	43·6 ,,
Garment trade	41·7 ,,
Printing works	31·9 ,,
Food trade	30·0 ,,
Paper trade	22·6 ,,
Chemical trade	18·8 ,,
Wood works	16·8 ,,
Metal trade	15·7 ,,
Textile trade	14·8 ,,
Building trade	12·7 ,,
Stone and pottery	5·7 ,,
Engineering, including electrical engineering	5·4 ,,
Mining	2·9 ,,
Gas, water, and electricity works	2·3 ,,
Metal production	0·7 ,,

These figures should be compared with the 6·8 per cent which the Jews formed of the total of persons gainfully occupied.

An industrial inquiry which, in 1921, was carried out by the Joint Distribution Committee, has shown that in the production of raw materials, *e.g.* in mining, hardly any Jews were employed (only 1 per cent of the total). The oil-fields

of Drohobycz, with a few thousand Jewish workmen, formed an exception. The intermediary stages of production (*e.g.* the textile and metal industries, the building trade, the wood, leather, paper, and chemical industries) account for 35 per cent of the Jews in industry, while 64 per cent are occupied in the finishing trades (*e.g.* the garment trade, food industry, printing, cleaning, etc.).

The official registration of artisans by the Polish Chambers of Handicrafts, on January 1, 1930, yielded the following numbers of Jews in the total of 197,802 artisans:

	In Absolute Figures.	Percentage of Jews engaged in the Trade.
Garment industry . . .	39,696	51·0
Food ,, . . .	11,689	33·8
Wood ,, . . .	6,412	25·5
Leather ,, . . .	2,530	47·1
Metals ,, . . .	9,171	29·5
Building trade	3,489	24·6
Personal services (barbers, etc.) .	3,513	52·2
Other handicrafts . . .	1,999	43·0
Total . .	78,499	39·7

It is estimated that besides the 197,802 registered artisans there were 115,000 others, but it is not known how many of them were Jews.

In Posnania and former West Prussia, now included in Poland, there were only 101 Jewish artisans, forming 0·2 per cent of the total, though a hundred years ago Posnania had a large class of Jewish artisans. But in the meantime most of them have gone over to other occupations, and the remainder emigrated to Germany after the cession of the province to Poland.

By an inquiry of January 1, 1930, a more detailed list of Jewish artisans is supplied for Warsaw, where the Jews formed one-third of the population. It gives the following numbers of Jews in the various trades:

			Per cent.			
Among painters, varnishers, etc. .	240	forming	60·6	of total	engaged	in the trade.
Among carpenters, joiners, etc. .	619	,,	45·6	,,	,,	
Among hatters and cap-makers .	298	,,	94·0	,,	,,	
Among furriers .	218	,,	77·3	,,	,,	
,, tailors .	2075	,,	68·3	,,	,,	
,, makers of cheap jewellery .	105	,,	97·2	,,	,,	
Among upholsterers	136	,,	53·5	,,	,,	
,, plumbers .	208	,,	63·8	,,	,,	
,, locksmiths .	254	,,	47·9	,,	,,	
,, jewellers .	246	,,	81·2	,,	,,	
,, watchmakers	347	,,	86·5	,,	,,	
,, confectioners	113	,,	45·7	,,	,,	
,, bakers .	227	,,	56·2	,,	,,	
,, butchers .	171	,,	45·8	,,	,,	
,, gaiter and legging makers .	589	,,	94·1	,,	,,	
Among harness-makers and leather-cutters	125	,,	65·1	,,	,,	
Among shoe-makers	993	,,	45·6	,,	,,	
,, binders .	121	,,	58·5	,,	,,	
,, hairdressers	423	,,	48·4	,,	,,	

This list can be taken as typical for the whole of Eastern Europe.

(c) *Soviet Russia*

The Russian census of 1926 supplies detailed figures for the number of Jews engaged in handicrafts, home industries, and workshops (excluding factories). It amounted—

			Per cent.			
In the Ukraine	to 154,496	making	25·2	of all Jews	gainfully	occupied.
,, White Russia	,, 43,894	,,	29·1	,,	,,	,,
,, Moscow	,, 8,852	,,	12·5	,,	,,	,,
,, Leningrad	,, 5,199	,,	11·9	,,	,,	,,

20 per cent among them were women.

About half of the Jews engaged in handicrafts consisted of artisans working without the help of dependents or of

hired labour; 20–25 per cent (in Leningrad only 14·5) were artisans assisted by their families; 7 per cent employed also hired labour; and 15 per cent were workmen (assistants or apprentices). In many branches, *e.g.* in the shoe industry, tailoring, and fur industry, the Jewish artisans have formed themselves into co-operative associations. As such they enjoy reductions of taxation and are favoured with regard to the supply of raw materials; moreover they receive contracts from the consumers' associations which are under State control. These co-operatives are not merely loose associations of artisans, each of whom works on his own account, but have in many cases developed a high degree of division of labour, apportioning to each worker a certain percentage of the proceeds. But in spite of the privileged position of co-operatives, considerable numbers of artisans continue to work on their own account, as it is not always possible to form associations, *e.g.* in small places where one single artisan supplies all that is needed in his branch. Moreover, in most cases, the co-operatives claim from their members an investment in money or machinery, which not all artisans are in a position to supply.

A new development is noticeable in that the co-operatives of artisans, to an increasing extent, no longer buy the raw materials or sell their products, but leave these transactions to a local credit institute, which in turn advances to them the best part of their capital. This protects the co-operative against commercial risks as the credit institute makes long-term agreements with them at fixed prices, but, at the same time, it deprives them to a large extent of their independence, and reduces them to the position of a group of piece-workers. Owing to this development the Jewish credit institutes have become an important factor in the life of the Jewish artisans. Most of them have been founded with the help of the I.C.A. or of the American Joint Distribution Committee, but have after that developed independently and received loans from the Government banks.

Most numerous among the Jewish artisans are those engaged in the garment and leather trades; they comprise almost half of all Jewish artisans. Next come the metal trades (plumbers, locksmiths, watchmakers, etc.) and the food trades; either group comprises about 10 per cent of the Jewish artisans. In the total of persons occupied in handicrafts and home industries, the percentage of Jews amounts—

In the Ukraine	.	to 35·6	(% of Jews in the total population. 5·4)
,, White Russia	.	,, 59·8	(,, ,, ,, ,, 8·2)
,, Moscow	.	,, 11·4	(,, ,, ,, ,, 6·5)
,, Leningrad	.	,, 11·0	(,, ,, ,, ,, 5·3)

In single trades the percentage of Jews rises even to 70–75, *e.g.* in the garment, textile, and food trades in White Russia, while in the printing works in White Russia it amounts to 88 per cent, and in the Ukraine to 75·4.

In 1926 in the Ukraine the number of Jewish labourers in industry and handicrafts amounted to 92,409, of which 63 per cent worked in factories and 37 per cent in home industries and workshops. Besides in the ordinary Jewish trades, their number is considerable in the metal industries, especially in Leningrad and Moscow.

For White Russia there is the official census of workmen in factories, undertaken in July 1929. There were 14,037 Jewish workmen in 210 factories, forming 33·8 per cent of the total. The proportion of Jews among the workmen was highest in the cotton mills (81 per cent), the garment industry (77·5), printing works (76), hide and leather trades (55). On the other hand there were only 6·4 per cent Jewish workmen in the linen mills, in the mineral and peat works 6·8, and in the paper industry 9·8. These figures show that Jewish workmen have already entered factories to a marked extent. It must, however, be remembered that White Russia is an overwhelmingly agricultural country, and that its non-Jewish population has entered industry to a much smaller

degree than in the Ukraine or in Poland. As against 14,037 Jewish factory workmen, there were 33,650 Jewish artisans, or, adding 6958 journeymen and apprentices, 40,608. Of the 151,524 Jews gainfully occupied in White Russia, there were, according to the census of 1929—

Factory workmen	8·0 per cent.
Artisans and their journeymen . .	26·7 ,,

Still, in connexion with the Five Years Plan, the number of Jewish workmen in the factories has grown considerably, and the Russian Government endeavours to promote this development by sending young Jews from agricultural districts of the Ukraine and White Russia to factory schools in the industrial centres of Central and Southern Russia, and to the railway works.

(d) *Roumania*

In 1913, according to the official Roumanian census, in a total of 308,320 persons engaged in handicrafts and industry, there were 37,514 Jews forming 12·2 per cent, while among those working on own account they formed even 14·2 per cent, though their proportion in the total population amounted, in 1899, to only 4·5 per cent. That these were mainly artisans and not factory workmen can be concluded from the fact that the average of workmen to each work-place was only 2·2. Among the various branches the percentage of Jews among those occupied in the trade was greatest in the garment trade (21·4), in printing works (15·1), textile works (14·5), and the leather, fur, and hide industries (13·2); smallest in potteries and glass works (3·7), the building trade (6·3), wood-work (6·8), and in the metal trade (7). In many single branches the Jews formed even the majority of those engaged, *e.g.* among the plumbers, watchmakers, goldsmiths, milliners, braid-makers and trunk-makers, etc.

Since the War a strong non-Jewish competition has grown

up to the Jewish artisans. The Government has founded schools for handicrafts, and admits to them only 25 per cent Jews. According to an enumeration of the Joint Reconstruction Foundation there were, in 1925, in Bessarabia, among 6489 Jewish artisans belonging to the local co-operative loan institutions, 3122, *i.e.* 48 per cent, employed in the garment trade; besides there were numerous locksmiths, blacksmiths, plumbers, and bakers.

(5) The United States of America

Even before the great influx of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe, many German Jews had opened workshops for the production of clothing (including caps, linen, and cloaks) in which they employed mostly non-Jewish labour. The industry increased enormously when the immigration of East European Jews supplied cheap labour, well suited for the work. Ignorant of the language and customs of the country, they were prepared to work for a bare subsistence wage. The clothing industry, in the hands of the German Jews, gave them a chance of finding employment without a knowledge of the English language. Owing to a high degree of subdivision of labour, practically no technical experience was required, and immigrants could start in it immediately; men and women, therefore, crowded into it, expanding its size and transforming its methods. The "jobber" had no longer the work done in his own workshop, nor did he give it to home workers, but gave his orders, together with the material, to contractors or "sub-manufacturers" who employed labourers on piece-work in "sweat-shops". In these every workman performed one small task; he acquired considerable skill, but suffered from the monotony of the work. In the early stages, the hygienic conditions were incredibly bad in the workshops, which were hot-beds of tuberculosis. The intervention of the Public Health authorities and the

increasingly strong organization of the trade unions have considerably improved conditions. "Prior to 1900 there was virtually no maximum in the weekly or daily hours of work; and the best wages seldom exceeded $10 per week. To-day, the 44-hour week is the general practice, and in some instances even this has been reduced to 40 hours per week. In 1928 wages in men's clothing, which even in 1914 had averaged on $13.06, had increased to $32.16 for all workers and $40.75 for men. Cutters averaged $49.64."[1] These wages have not so far attained the level usual with American-born labour, but approach it. The Jewish workmen and their leaders have shown considerable organizing powers in the fight for higher wages. As early as 1888 they combined the different Jewish trade unions in the "United Hebrew Trades", which remains to this day their central organization. In 1897 the Yiddish newspaper *Vorwaerts* was founded as its organ, and has by now a circulation of over 200,000. It took many years for the workmen in the clothing industry to complete their organization. The American workmen in the better paid, non-Jewish industries saw in the Jew an undercutter of wages, and left him to his fate. The Jewish workmen had to look after their own interests. Only the Italians and Poles, who since 1905 have entered the clothing industry in growing numbers and who share in it the fate of the Jews, co-operate with them. After the great strikes of 1913, the "Union of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America" was founded, and in 1928 its membership amounted to 125,000. Before the War, the Jews formed more than half of its members, in 1923 41 per cent, in 1928 38·2, and by now there has been a further slight decrease. In the second greatest trade union in the clothing industry, the "International Ladies' Garments Workers' Union," with a membership of about 90,000, the Jews formed, in 1928, 63 per cent of the members. The 15,000 members of the

[1] See article by Ben. M. Selekman in *Proceedings of the National Conference of Jewish Social Service* (New York, 1930), p. 21.

"Hatters' Union" are almost all Jews, and so are the manufacturers and sub-contractors in practically all the branches of the clothing trade.

Besides New York and Chicago, Philadelphia and Rochester are centres of the clothing industry, with almost only Jewish employers and numerous Jewish workmen.

Although the Jews have by now worked for nearly fifty years in the clothing industry, they feel no pride in, nor attachment to it. The Jewish workmen look upon work in the sweat-shops as a bitter necessity, and hope as soon as possible to change their occupation. Owing to restrictions on immigration, the number of Jewish workmen in the clothing industry will steadily decline, as no new immigrants will replace those who pass into other professions. Even now of the Jewish workmen in the clothing trade not quite 10 per cent are American-born; it is a typical trade of the first generation of immigrants. The second generation turns to desk-work, the liberal professions, and commerce.

Further, the Jews are numerous among both employers and workmen in the manufacture of knitwear, furniture, furs, tobacco, and footwear.

In July 1929, an inquiry into the number of Jews in the fifty largest trade unions of New York (which included shop-assistants, etc.) showed that among their 392,652 members, there were 134,020 Jews, forming 34·1 per cent.[1] This corresponds approximately to the proportion which they form in the population. The clothing trades employ 71,190 of the 134,020 Jewish workmen, *i.e.* 53·6 per cent. The building trades, with their relatively high percentage of 13·5, come next.

While the number of Jewish home workers is considerable, that of independent artisans is extremely small. They have maintained themselves only as watchmakers, jewellers, plumbers, cobblers, glaziers, butchers, and bakers.

[1] Linfield in *The American Jewish Year-Book*, for 5690 (Philadelphia, 1929), p. 203.

(6) Developments in Jewish Handicrafts

As was shown above, the Jews are most numerous in the finishing trades which approach nearest to commerce; in these they produce goods which they themselves can sell to the consumer. There is no sharp dividing line between commerce and handicrafts working direct for the consumer, and both functions are frequently combined in the same person. Knowledge of the handicraft helps the dealer in his business, and was a reason for his learning it. The jeweller had to be able to set jewels, the clothier to cut the cloth in an expert manner, and the second-hand clothes dealer to restore, clean, or refit his goods in order to make them more saleable; the dealer in watches had to know how to put them together and to repair them. And as the Jew prefers profits to wages, he turned in the first place to the handicrafts in which he was both the maker and seller of his goods—therefore to the clothing and provision trades. Here he could hope by commercial skill to add profits to wages.

This subsidiary position of Jewish handicrafts in relation to commerce explains the present developments in Jewish handicrafts. Wherever commerce offers a favourable chance, the Jews remain in it; but where it is overcrowded, or where, as new immigrants, they cannot freely engage in it because of their ignorance of the vernacular, they fall back on handicrafts. But they try to keep near to commerce, and give preference to handicrafts which are on the border-line, and which they can easily learn. Real handicrafts, in which the artisan treats the goods from beginning to end, working alone or with a few assistants, and in which several years are required to acquire the necessary technical skill, stand with the Jews on a low level, as the Jew is not prepared to give up several years of his life to learning the trade. Handicrafts which mark a transition to art form an exception—thus gold-work, diamond-cutting, printing and engraving,

and optical work. In these the Jew often attains a very high level, perhaps because artistic taste and high intelligence are required. But a much larger number of Jews is engaged in crafts in which, by subdivision, complex labour is reduced to a number of simple functions that can be easily learnt—for example, weaving, the clothing trade, and the manufacture of cigarettes. In these branches the small workshop has as a rule been supplanted by bigger workshops with many assistants, or has developed into a home industry.

It is probable that the development of handicrafts into large workshops and factories will continue, as these are superior in their technique and organization. In handicrafts which, owing to their nature, cannot be easily expanded, *e.g.* in those of goldsmiths, butchers, bakers, plumbers, glaziers, and barbers, the Jews will remain in limited numbers, but even from these and from home industries they will turn to commerce whenever a chance offers. Also in Soviet Russia the Jews will continue in handicrafts only so long as the policy of the Government closes the road to commerce. Altogether the prosperity of handicrafts in Russia is artificial, and they will maintain themselves only so long as big industry is not developed, and the importation of foreign goods is restricted. Should a change supervene in this respect, the new Jewish handicrafts will disappear or will develop into big undertakings of the factory type.

(7) Big Industry

Factories are a creation of the nineteenth century, and most industries are a continuation of previous handicrafts, improved and enlarged by the introduction of machinery. The development was in most cases gradual, and the skill and experience of the artisans retained its value, even in the factories. Thus the branches of industry in which the

Jews maintained themselves in the nineteenth century were mostly those in which they had previously worked as artisans, *e.g.* the clothing trades and diamond-cutting; and conversely, they are seldom found in industries in which they had not previously worked as such. There were hardly any Jewish blacksmiths or locksmiths, and there are few Jews in iron foundries and engineering works. Moreover, the chasm between the previous and the present methods of production is smaller in the Jewish than in the non-Jewish trades. The Jewish handicrafts have developed into large workshops rather than into factories. They use, by preference, small machines worked by individuals, but seldom large machines which dominate the entire production. The type of "Jewish" machinery is the sewing or quilting machine; the type of "non-Jewish" machine is the steam-hammer. The Jew wishes to master, and not to be mastered by, his machine. He is helped by the fact that in the branches in which he originally worked as an artisan smaller machines are required—these are finishing trades in which the human eye and the human hand are of greater importance than in industries producing raw materials (*e.g.* metals) or half-manufactures. Products of the finishing trades have to be suited to the individual needs of customers, and therefore show an infinite variety; while in the primary stages the aim is to obtain a uniform product.

Commerce and finance was another road by which the Jews entered industry. Beginning their dealings as merchants and as financiers, in many cases they became partners in, or owners of, the factory. The Jews who entered industry from handicrafts were restricted to a few branches, and mostly remained workmen (in Eastern Europe and America). Those who entered it from commerce and finance became manufacturers or managers (in Western and Central Europe). They were not limited to special trades, and there is to-day hardly a branch of industry in which Jews are not active as manufacturers or managers. They excel in the application

of new inventions, in the introduction of better methods. in the organization of selling, and in all other commercial and financial aspects of industry.

Except in Soviet Russia, where industry is nationalized and the choice of workmen does not lie with a manufacturer, in handicrafts and industry alike Jews are hardly ever employed in works owned by non-Jews. Even in Jewish-owned works, they predominate only in small workshops, and not in factories. In 1921, the industrial inquiry of the I.C.A. in Poland showed that among the journeymen and apprentices employed by Jewish artisans, Jews formed 90 per cent, and in some branches even 100 per cent, while in none does the proportion drop below 70 per cent. Very different is the position in industry. The following table shows the position of Jews in the workshops and factories of the three biggest industrial towns in Poland, Warsaw, Lodz, and Bialystok. There were—

In Works.	Total Number of Workmen.	Jewish Workmen.	
		In Absolute Figures.	Percentage of the Total Number of Workmen.
With 1–5 workmen	20,213	19,425	96·1
„ 6–10 „	7,768	6,859	88·3
„ 11–20 „	5,614	4,021	71·6
„ 21–50 „	8,485	3,520	41·5
„ above 50 „	10,419	2,199	21·1
Altogether .	52,499	36,024	68·6

The higher percentage of Jews in the smaller works is also shown by the following figures obtained at the inquiry in 1921. There were employed—

	Of every 100	
	Jews.	Non-Jews.
In small workshops . .	78·6	14·8
„ factories	21·4	85·2

The Jews prefer the patriarchical relation with the owner

of a small workshop to the strict discipline of a factory, which reduces them to ciphers and represses their individuality; the non-Jew seems to accept more easily the discipline and to suffer less from its uniformity. Another reason why the Jewish workmen prefer small-sized undertakings is that they hope to find a way from them to becoming independent artisans or small manufacturers. Lastly, even Jewish manufacturers in many cases discriminate against Jews, either under pressure from their non-Jewish workmen or because they find Jews a more difficult element to deal with. Also the problem of the Sabbath is of importance; as factories must not work on Sundays, the presence of a large number of Jewish workmen who keep the Sabbath would force the manufacturer to close for two days in the week. This factor, however, loses in importance as a growing number of Jewish workmen are prepared to work on the Sabbath day.

While capital and management in many big industries are predominantly Jewish, there are few in which Jewish workmen play an important part, and which could therefore, to some extent, be described as Jewish industries. The most important are:

(*a*) The textile industry of Poland (Warsaw, Lodz, Bialystok, and Bielitz). Most of the manufacturers are Jews, and about one-fifth of the workmen. It has developed from handicrafts into workshops, and, in many cases, into factories. In Warsaw the workshop still predominates, in Lodz, Bialystok, and Bielitz the factory.

(*b*) The manufacture of clothing and underwear in Paris, London, and the United States (New York, Chicago, Rochester) which is predominantly carried on as a home industry.

(*c*) Diamond-cutting in Amsterdam and in Antwerp, which, free of all guild restrictions, has been open to the Jews since the seventeenth century. At that time the Jews, obtaining their raw material from Brazil, which was held by the Dutch, became so proficient in the work that even after

Brazil had been lost, Amsterdam remained the centre of diamond-cutting. All attempts to transplant it to other countries have failed. Only Antwerp, where towards the end of the nineteenth century Galician Jews began to settle, has formed a kind of subsidiary centre to the Amsterdam diamond industry. The Jews form about half of the manufacturers in the diamond trade of Amsterdam, and three-fourths at Antwerp. Among the 8000–10,000 workmen in Amsterdam they form about 70 per cent, and among the 15,000 workmen in Antwerp, 10–15 per cent; but the most responsible part of the work, the splitting of diamonds, is done by them.

(*d*) Besides these industries concentrated in certain towns, the Jews of Eastern Europe are fairly numerous, both as manufacturers and as workmen, in the production of cigars and cigarettes, in the manufacture of leather, shoes, and leather goods, of furs, and of wine and spirits (in so far as these are not State monopolies), in flour mills, and in printing works. Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe have carried some of these industries to other European countries; thus they are employed in the manufacture of fine leather goods in Paris, Vienna, and Offenbach-on-the-Main, and of furs at Leipzig.

(*e*) In the film industry of the United States, which has assumed a vast size, the capital is largely Jewish, and the majority of the managers are Jews. The same applies to the theatre, described in America as an industry because its commercial and technical aspects are almost more important than its artistic side.

Examining the character of the industries in which the Jews are specially numerous among the employers and workmen, it is found that the Jewish employer prefers branches in which he can start with a small capital and gradually enlarge his business, and that he avoids works which have to start, from the very outset, on a high technical level and with a big capital; further, that he prefers

industries which in a short time produce goods for consumption, *i.e.* where the turnover is quick, and the produce has a big market—the reason being that these finishing trades were connected in their origin with commercial undertakings and only gradually acquired an independent existence.

As for the Jewish workmen, especially in Eastern Europe, it is found that they prefer small workshops, and industries which do not require physical strength or a long and thorough schooling; they are therefore less numerous among the skilled than among the unskilled or half-skilled labourers.

CHAPTER XII

THE JEWS IN COMMERCE

(1) The Aptitude of Jews for Commerce

The Jews are particularly suited for commerce, but in this they do not differ from other peoples with an old civilization and a long experience of a highly developed economy —the Armenians, Syrians, Greeks, Chinese, and Indians— some of whom even excel them. In Syria the wholesale trade is almost entirely in the hands of Syrians and Armenians, while the Jews live by retail trade and handicrafts; in Salonica the Greeks who came from Asia Minor after the War have succeeded in ousting the Jews from their leading position in trade. It was only among the European peoples, agricultural and without long commercial experience, that the Jews became eminent as merchants. They had served their apprenticeship in the trading centres of the ancient world—Egypt, Babylon, and Persia—where they had lived even before the destruction of the Jewish State. These countries were for them an academy of commerce, and they were able to apply in Europe what they had learned there; moreover, as only the ablest and boldest emigrated, the Jewish traders in Europe were a select body. Connected with the East, they had practically a monopoly of the trade in valuable Oriental merchandise, which they retained till the Crusades, when a newly arisen class of non-Jewish merchants found its road to the East. This class, assisted by State and municipal legislation, gradually ousted the Jews from their position in commerce, finally leaving to them only the much despised business of second-hand trade and usury.

In modern times a non-Jewish merchant class developed

in England, Holland, and the United States, in no way inferior to the Jews, and the success of the Jews in the trade of those countries during the past century was achieved in co-operation, and not in competition, with that class, the immense economic development offering unprecedented opportunities for the acquisition of wealth. In Eastern Europe, on the contrary, the non-Jewish trading class has not developed to the same extent, so that the Jews still remain pre-eminent in trade; but here their success has been less remunerative than in the West because of the slow economic development of those countries and because the Jews are so numerous that they overcrowd every branch of commerce. Nevertheless they cling to it, partly because other professions open to them and not requiring the investment of capital, such as handicrafts, do not offer a chance of a better living. But there is also a psychological background to this preference—the Jews are more active, restless, and excitable than their neighbours, particularly in Northern Europe, and therefore seek an outlet in the tension and reaction of their daily work. Brain-work, on the whole, suits the Jew better than manual labour. A scientific or artistic profession or a leading position in the public service or economic life will satisfy him, whereas work that consists in the mere repetition of mechanical effort is felt by him as an infringement of personal freedom—a factory is to him something in the nature of a prison.

Among the professions which do not in themselves offer mental distraction, commerce, with its inevitable uncertainties, provides a substitute for the mental tension so necessary to the Jew, for here he has to deal with uncertain but unlimited possibilities of profit, and lives in a continuous state of excitement. The hope of a chance and luck and big profits in the future keeps him happy, and in a way supplements the actual takings of the day. The Jew, therefore, prefers independence, even though in a small way, to a post with a fixed salary. It is not an accident that the Jews—like

the Syrians, Armenians, Greeks, and Southern Italians—are the best customers for lotteries and games of chance, and are numerous among the speculators at the Stock Exchange. Similarly, more often than European non-Jews, they incur financial risks disproportionate to their capital, *e.g.* in the clothing trade, which is subject to rapid changes of fashion and demands quick adaptation to every change. They endeavour to utilize their resources to the utmost, and in their optimism seldom think of keeping a reserve for unforeseen eventualities. They feel well in an atmosphere of risk and uncertainty fraught with hope.

Such hopes have played their part in the history of the Jews and have enabled them to endure their dreary lives. On the highest plane, the hope for the Messianic miracle which inspired them in the Middle Ages, and led to passionate outbursts such as the appearance of Sabbatei Zewi, was a sublimated expression of the same mentality. Like other Orientals, the Jew is fundamentally an optimist, much more so than the Northern races. So long as the Jews lived in their own surroundings suicide and birth-control were unknown among them, and in modern times have only spread through the influence of new surroundings. The fact that the Jew never gives up hope helps him in a high degree to adapt himself to new conditions. He is not easily broken by misfortune, but always looks forward to a change for the better. This attitude is invaluable in the uncertainties of commerce but less valuable in the rigidity of office life and administration.

(2) The Beginnings of Modern Wholesale Trade

In Prussia it was in the second quarter of the nineteenth century that the Jews passed in big numbers from petty trade, hawking, usury, and innkeeping to regular retail and wholesale business; in Eastern Europe about fifty years later. The Rhenish towns and Frankfort, thanks to their

trade relations with France, England, and Holland, were at least half a century in advance of the rest of Germany; in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Frankfort Rothschilds were at the height of their power, exercising an influence over public finance in Europe unequalled since by any banking firm. The close co-operation of their houses in Frankfort, London, Paris, Vienna, and Naples enabled the Rothschilds to effect money-transfers between countries, and to pay the interest due on loans and shares in the currency of the country of issue. Thus their circle of customers was far wider than that of any bank limited to one country only. Though the Rothschilds were the most important Jewish financiers of Germany, after the beginning of the nineteenth century they were no longer the only ones. There were many middling and small bankers, especially in Southern and Western Germany, and also in Berlin and Hamburg. During the so-called Foundation Period (1871–1875), when numerous private industrial undertakings were turned into joint-stock companies, the Jews were so numerous among the "founders" that the first appearance of modern anti-Semitism in Germany is sometimes ascribed to non-Jews who blamed the Jews for the loss of their fortunes in the subsequent crisis.

In France about the middle of the nineteenth century, two Jews, the brothers Pereire, founded the Crédit Mobilier, which led to an enormous increase in mortgage business. Again, among the founders of the Deutsche Bank in Berlin in 1870 the Jews were in a majority, and to this day they are strongly represented among the bankers and brokers of Western and Central Europe, though their influence has gradually declined during the past fifty years owing to the vast increase of non-Jewish capital working through the great joint-stock and deposit banks. Moreover, much of the banking business has been standardized, and no longer offers the same opportunities for individual initiative to which Jews owed their former importance in banking. Still, according to

Joseph Jacobs,[1] the Jews formed 5 per cent of the members of the London Stock Exchange and 15 per cent in New York.

Extensive activity has been developed by Jews in the financing of important transport undertakings—they recognized the vast possibilities still hidden to others. The Rothschilds, Bischoffheims, brothers Pereire, Baron Hirsch, and Strousberg raised the means for the construction of important European railways; Jacob Schiff (head of the New York bank of Kuhn, Loeb & Co.) financed the Union Pacific Railroad, and Sir Ernest Cassel planned and financed the building of the Assuan Dam, which led to a vast extension of arable land in Egypt.

Further, the Jews in Western and Central Europe play a leading part in the growth of departmental stores, in the metal, grain, and cattle trade, in the book and art trade, and in real estate. From Paris they control the pearl trade, from Amsterdam and Antwerp the diamond trade (80 to 90 per cent of the diamond-dealers in these cities are Jews), from Paris (and until recently from Leipzig) the fur trade of Europe. They are also strongly represented in the tobacco trade which centres in Amsterdam and London. They form a high percentage among the owners of shops dealing in textiles, linen, ready-made clothing, jewellery, leather goods, and lace. In Poland, Slovakia, and Hungary more than half of those engaged in commerce are Jews, and in Carpatho-Russia 87 per cent.

It would seem that by now the Jews have reached or even passed the height of their participation in European trade. The non-Jews enter trade in increasing numbers. In Prussia of every 100 persons gainfully occupied, there were engaged in commerce—

	Among the Jews.	Among the non-Jews.
1861 . .	58·3	2·0
1882 . .	56·6	5·9
1907 . .	47·2	7·2
1925 . .	49·3	10·3

[1] *Jewish Contributions to Civilisation*, p. 229 (Philadelphia, 1920).

The slight increase among the Jews in 1925 was due to the post-War inflation which produced a great temporary influx of both Jews and non-Jews into commerce.

Owing to the support given to non-Jews by governments which exercise a great influence through State contracts and State monopolies, and to the anti-Jewish attitude of many customers, non-Jews acquire an increasingly important position in trade at the expense of the Jews. The percentage of Jews declines among those gainfully occupied in commerce;[1] it amounted—

In Prussia	in 1861	to 21·0	per cent.
,,	,, 1882	,, 10·1	,,
,,	,, 1907	,, 6·4	,,
,,	,, 1925	,, 5·9	,,
In Hungary	,, 1910	,, 46·6	,,
,,	,, 1920	,, 40·6	,,
In Budapest	,, 1900	,, 62·2	,,
,,	,, 1910	,, 58·9	,,
,,	,, 1920	,, 50·6	,,
In Warsaw	,, 1882	,, 79·3	,,
,,	,, 1920	,, 62·0	,,

Even in moneylending, formerly their special sphere, the Jews have had to yield to the non-Jews. As independent bankers they cannot hold their own against the great joint-stock banks, which are predominantly non-Jewish. The following figures show the changes in banking and stock-broking in Prussia:

	Total Number engaged.	Number and Percentage of Jews.	Number of Bank-owners and Directors.	Number and Percentage of Jews.
1882 .	13,234	2,908 = 22·0	2,733	1,182 = 43·2
1895 .	19,108	3,045 = 15·9	2,982	1,122 = 37·6
1925 .	146,235	5,620 = 3·8	10,503	1,885 = 17·9

[1] See Lestschinsky, *Das wirtschaftliche Schicksal des deutschen Judentums*, p. 91 (Berlin, 1933).

Between 1882 and 1925 the percentage of Jews gainfully employed in banking and broking fell to one-sixth, and among bank-owners and directors to two-fifths, of its original size.

(3) Possibilities in Trade and the Results of Overcrowding

In economically under-developed countries about 5 per cent of the population live by trade and commerce (including transport), in more highly developed countries 10 to 15 per cent, while in trading countries *par excellence* (Holland and England) the proportion reaches 20 to 25 per cent. Overcrowding in relation to the existing possibilities reduces the turnover of the individual trader. Any attempt to compensate this by means of higher profits is doomed to failure owing to the intense competition; and with the greatest exertion the trader can hardly secure a sufficient livelihood. Such is now the situation of the majority of Jewish traders in Poland. Here the Jews form nearly 11 per cent of the inhabitants, and try to live wherever possible by commerce, even though, owing to the small purchasing power of the population, such numbers cannot be supported by it, especially in view of the steadily growing number of non-Jews who enter trade. Three or more middlemen now intervene between producer and consumer, and the last links in the chain are no longer the tradesmen waiting in their shops for customers and dealing on a cash basis, but hawkers who peddle their cheap goods in the streets or from house to house, or the keepers of tiny provision shops catering for an immediate neighbourhood on a credit basis. In Eastern Europe there are thousands of Jewish pedlars, hawkers, stall-holders, and small grocers whose entire stock-in-trade is hardly worth one pound sterling and whose daily earnings may be reckoned in pence. Not one trader, but a dozen,

come crowding in wherever they scent a chance of business. There is a waste of human brain-power not to be found in any other part of Europe, and yet only in the extremest need will the Jewish trader turn to a different occupation.

(4) Participation of the Jews in Various Branches of Trade

(a) *Europe*

The German occupational census of 1925 has supplied data concerning the distribution of the Jews among the various branches of commerce in Prussia.[1] Of 106,699 Jews gainfully employed in it there were engaged in—

	Total Number.	Per cent.
Ordinary commerce (wholesale and retail) .	85,712	80·3
Publishing	1,415	1·3
Book trade and circulating libraries . .	655	0·6
Tobacco trade	1,902	1·8
Real estate	479	0·45
Banking and stockbroking . . .	5,620	5·3
Agency, administration, consultation .	8,367	7·8
Markets and fairs	49	0·05
Lending and auctioneering . . .	210	0·2
Storage, forwarding, watching . . .	494	0·5
Hawking and peddling	1,796	1·7
Total .	106,699	100·00
Of these were women .	23,696	22·2

The foreign Jews, who formed 18 per cent of all the Jews gainfully occupied, were most strongly represented in the trade with eggs, rags-and-bones, shoes, and provisions; moreover 648 were hawkers and pedlars (*i.e.* 36·1 per cent of the total number of Jews in this branch), and 523 were tobacco dealers (27·5 per cent). In the furniture and clothing trades they have been the pioneers of the instalment

[1] See Silbergleit, *op. cit.* p. 125.

system, which in some districts (*e.g.* in the Ruhr) is almost entirely in their hands.

Of the 106,699 Jews engaged in commerce there were—

		Per cent.	
Working on own account .	57,560 (including	6,091 = 10·6	women).
Employees	38,107 ,,	10,093 = 26·5	,,
Workmen	1,358 ,,	253 = 18·6	,,
Members of the family assisting its head . . .	9,674 ,,	7,259 = 75·1	,,

There were besides 5489 Jews in occupations allied to commerce, viz.—

1. In insurance			943 (including 189 women).
2. ,, transport:			
(*a*) River and marine transport .	94		
(*b*) Post, telegraph, telephone .	242		
(*c*) Railways	200		
(*d*) Trams, undergrounds, elevateds	58		
(*e*) Other land transport . .	165		
(*f*) Air travel, tourist agencies .	45		
	——		804 (including 136 women).
3. In the sale of spirituous liquors and the provision of board and lodgings			3742 (including 2264 women).

In 1920 in Czechoslovakia the proportion of Jews in commerce exceeded their percentage in the population nearly ten times in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, twelve times in Slovakia, and six times in Carpatho-Russia. In Slovakia 55 per cent and in Carpatho-Russia 90 per cent of those occupied in commerce were Jews. Their percentage in transport (post and railways) was disproportionately low.

According to the Polish census of 1921, of 939,485 Jews gainfully occupied (6·8 per cent of the total), 349,422 (36·1 per cent) were engaged in commerce and transport. They were distributed as follows:

	Number.	Per cent.	Percentage of Jews in every 100 Earners.
Goods trade	288,685	82·6	73·8
Co-operative societies . .	907	0·3	6·9
Hotels and restaurants . .	17,124	4·9	23·1
Stockbroking	2,490	0·7	13·8
Insurance	628	0·2	16·0
Other commercial undertakings	14,781	4·2	81·4
Post, telegraphs, telephones .	457	0·1	1·7
Railways	1,479	0·4	0·8
Other transport . . .	11,789	3·4	42·5
Work subsidiary to transport .	11,082	3·2	67·8
Together .	349,422	100·0	62·6

The percentage of Jews in the total population of Poland was 10·8, and in all these branches, barring co-operatives, the postal services, and railways, they exceeded this proportion. Their relatively small numbers in transport are due to their restricted employment in undertakings run by the State. Of every 100 persons occupied in transport there were among the

	Jews.	Non-Jews.
In the post, telegraph, and telephone services . .	1·8	11·8
On the railways and trams	6·0	78·5
In other transport (haulage, etc.)	47·5	7·3
On work subsidiary to transport (forwarding, etc.) .	44·7	2·4

Thus 92 per cent of the Jews were occupied in private, and only 8 per cent in public transport undertakings, while among the non-Jews the opposite was the case.

In Poland, 68·4 per cent of all persons occupied in commerce (excluding transport) were Jews, and only 31·6 non-Jews; *i.e.* although the Jews formed only 10·8 per cent of the population, their absolute number in commerce was double that of the non-Jews. In certain provinces this percentage is even higher—90·5 in the province of Tarnopol, and 87-89 in those of Volhynia, Stanislavov, Novogrodek,

and Polesie, the Jews holding there very nearly a monopoly of commerce. But they can no longer make an adequate livelihood in it. They suffer from overcrowding, from economic anti-Semitism, and from the growth of co-operatives and State monopolies.

(b) *America*

The importance of the Jews in American banking is far smaller than in Europe. There are several big Jewish bankers, but they are not nearly as important as the great joint-stock banks, which are almost exclusively non-Jewish. Also the large stores have remained predominantly non-Jewish, although in this branch of trade the participation of the Jews is on the increase and some of the stores run by them are among the largest and best organized in the United States. They are numerous among the shopkeepers, especially those dealing in dry goods, ready-made clothing, pharmaceutical goods, cigars, provisions, furs, shoes, furniture, jewellery, and precious stones. Before the introduction of prohibition they formed a considerable percentage among dealers in alcoholic liquors, and it seems that subsequently they were not absent from among the bootleggers. In the highly speculative wholesale trade in tobacco, especially in the buying from the planters, the Jews are so strongly represented that they are alleged to "control" 90 per cent of the entire tobacco crop.

Their share in the real estate business is also very great. In New York City and Chicago they bought up uncultivated and formerly almost worthless ground, on which they proceeded to build whole districts such as the Bronx, Borough Park, and Bensonhurst in New York, and the Douglas Park Section in Chicago; similarly in other large cities, *e.g.* Philadelphia and Cleveland.

There are, however, many branches of trade in which very few Jews are engaged, such as that in grain, oil, coal, iron, agricultural machinery, and motor-cars. Most of these

trades were already in the hands of competent non-Jews when the mass immigration of the Jews began, and they found it much more difficult to enter these branches than in Europe, where they participated from the beginning in the development of modern trade.

CHAPTER XIII

THE JEWS IN PUBLIC SERVICES AND THE LIBERAL PROFESSIONS

(1) Admission in Modern Times

The fourth great occupational branch is formed by the public services and liberal professions. The public services include all State and municipal officials except those occupied in nationalized economic undertakings (mining, railways, post, etc.) who are classified under "mining" or "transport". The liberal professions include doctors, lawyers, engineers, teachers, authors, artists, etc., and their assistants (*e.g.* nurses, law clerks, etc.).

Apart from the professions connected with the Jewish religion (teachers, rabbis, cantors, ritual slaughterers), the public services and professions were only opened to the Jews in the course of the nineteenth century. Before that they were with very few exceptions debarred from public offices and Universities.[1] Since the French Revolution the Jews have been admitted to the Universities and professions in Western Europe; in Central Europe only since about the third decade of the nineteenth century. In Eastern Europe the Russian Revolution of 1917 abolished the laws restricting the admission of Jews to the Universities and public services. Only in Hungary a *numerus clausus* was officially in force between 1920 and 1928, and in Germany the Nazi Government introduced the most rigorous restrictions in the spring of 1933, limiting the number of "non-Aryans"—Jews, half-Jews, and quarter-Jews—

[1] The Polish Jews wishing to study medicine had to enter the Italian Universities; in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries 230 Jews took their medical degrees in the University of Padua.

admitted to the Universities and other High Schools, to 1·5 per cent of all the students.

The Jews lost no time in taking full advantage of the opportunities given to them at their emancipation. They were attracted to the liberal professions because these offered chances of gaining an adequate livelihood and improving their social position, and because they were better suited to satisfy their innate desire for mental work than any other activities. In most countries the proportion of Jews among the lawyers, doctors, dentists, chemists, engineers, journalists, authors, musicians, and actors exceeds by far their percentage in the total population. But they are often faced by increasing difficulties because certain work (*e.g.* of research chemists, engineers, etc.) can only be carried on inside great industrial companies, many of which discriminate against Jews. The situation is similar with regard to the employment of Jews in State and municipal administration. Perhaps the small number employed in them may also be accounted for by the remuneration in them being often lower than in the professions.

The overcrowding of the professions and the difficulties which the Jews find in establishing themselves in some of them, lead to the growth of a Jewish "intellectual proletariat", more especially in the large cities. Their position is worse than that of the non-Jews, who find employment in public and private undertakings almost entirely closed to Jews. For these trade and industry offer the only openings, but large numbers having already turned that way on the conclusion of their studies, the chances for the future are much reduced.

(2) Distribution among Various Professions

(a) *Prussia*[1]

In 1925, 19,621 Jews were engaged in the public services

[1] See Silbergleit, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. 90.

and the professions, forming 8·7 per cent of all the Jews gainfully occupied in Prussia. The number of Jews was in—

		Per cent.
Public administration, justice, army, navy	1563	= 0·3 of the total.
Religion, law, and other liberal professions	9761	= 2·3 ,, ,,
Public health and welfare	8297	= 2·3 ,, ,,

The number of women among these was in—

		Per cent.
Public administration, etc.	245	= 15·7
Religion, law, etc.	2867	= 29·4
Public health, etc.	2014	= 24·3

The following was the distribution of Jews among the several professions (the figures in brackets show the number of women included among them):

Doctors	4505	(330)
Dentists	778	(80)
Dental mechanics	345	(79)
Nurses	555	(541)
Welfare workers, kindergarten teachers	393	(386)
Retail chemists	437	(34)
Research chemists	235	(15)
Lawyers	2239	(15)
Journalists	233	(22)
Authors	447	(63)
Ministers of religion	237	(0)
Teachers (not including the Universities)	1351	(583)
Actors	399	(163)
Musicians	899	(335)
Singers and singing teachers	443	(220)
Artistes, dancers	241	(94)
Stage managers	65	(0)
Sculptors, painters	35	(16)

The proportion of Jews among doctors was about 18 per cent, among dentists about 15, and among lawyers about 25 per cent.

According to the official statistics of May 1933, the 11,814

lawyers in Prussia included 3515 (29·8 per cent) "non-Aryans". By decrees issued by the Nazi government in the spring of 1933, the "non-Aryan" lawyers, notaries, teachers, and University professors were dismissed or forced to retire, exception being made only for those who had practised, or held office, before 1914, or had served at the front in the War, or had lost their father or a son in it. With the same exceptions, Jewish physicians were deprived of the right to serve as panel doctors.

(b) *Hungary*

In 1920 a total of 17,554 Jews were engaged in public services and the professions, and 2435 in the army. There were in the—

	Of every 100 gainfully occupied. Jews	Non-Jews
Public Services and Professions:		
(*a*) Professional men and officials . . .	7·9	3·0
(*b*) Assistants to professional men and second division clerks	0·7	1·3
	8·6	4·3
Army:		
(*a*) Officers and officials	0·1	0·3
(*b*) Non-commissioned officers . . .	0·4	0·6
(*c*) Privates	0·7	1·6
Together . .	1·2	2·5

The percentage of Jews was highest among the lawyers (50·6), doctors (46·3), veterinary surgeons (41·3), engineers and chemists (39·1), editors and journalists (34·3), professors of music and art (31·6), but was only 10 per cent among public officials and teachers.

The difficult position of the Jews in the professions is proved by figures from Budapest; in 1928 of the Jewish intellectual workers 10·5 per cent were unemployed, but among the non-Jews only 6·8 per cent.

(c) *Czechoslovakia*

In 1921, in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, of the Jews gainfully occupied 9·2 per cent were employed in the public services and the professions, in Slovakia 7·7, and in Carpatho-Russia 5·4; in the first three (western) provinces, ever since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Jews have gone in for modern education, while in Slovakia, and still more in Carpatho-Russia, they were until recently opposed to it, adhering to their religious orthodoxy. The percentage of Jews was, in—

	National and Municipal Administration.	Education.	Other Officials and in the Professions.	Army.	Among all Officials and in the Professions.	Percentage of Jews in the Total Population.
Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia	0·6	0·6	6·6	0·8	2·0	1·3
Slovakia	3·2	7·5	19·7	1·0	7·1	4·5
Carpatho-Russia	6·3	32·1	39·1	3·0	19·4	15·4

In the professions the proportion of Jews is in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia five times, in Slovakia four times, and even in Carpatho-Russia two and a half times larger than their percentage of the total population, while in the army and public services it falls short of that percentage.

(d) *Poland*

According to the census of 1921, 40,250 Jews were in the public services and the professions, and 15,393 in the army, making 4·3 and 1·6 per cent of the total of Jews gainfully occupied.

In Poland the Jews formed 10·8 per cent of the total population and 6·8 per cent of all those gainfully occupied, but 4·4 per cent in the army, and 12·4 per cent in the public

services and the professions. Of those engaged, the Jews formed in—

State and municipal administration (including judges and lawyers)	4·2 per cent.
Public health	17·6 ,,
Public welfare	11·9 ,,
Religion	17·1 ,,
Education	19·4 ,,
Science and art	12·3 ,,
Theatre and music	24·4 ,,

The Polish census, by including lawyers, among whom the Jews are numerous, under one heading with public administration, fails to show how very small their percentage is in the Civil Service.

(e) *Roumania*

In 1913 the proportion of Jews in the professions was 5·3 per cent, as against 4·5 in the total population. It varied in the several professions according to whether the admission of Jews was free or restricted. Among doctors, veterinary surgeons, and dentists it amounted to 36·1 per cent; among lawyers it was only 1·6, but has risen considerably since 1913.

(f) *Soviet Russia*

The nationalization of industrial and commercial undertakings has resulted in the rise of a large Jewish official class, because many Jews employed in those undertakings as managers and workers have been retained in their positions. Besides, other Jews were appointed in economic undertakings where their commercial abilities were required. The large proportion of Jews in comparatively high and responsible positions has given rise to the contention that the Soviets are in fact a Jewish Government. But the fact is often overlooked that they are hardly represented in other important branches, *e.g.* on the railways, and that, although called officials, in the economic undertakings they are really working in commerce and industry.

At the Russian census of 1926 officials are put in one class with other technical and office personnel, which is justified in a nationalized economy by the comparatively small number of those employed in private undertakings. In 1926 the total number of Jewish employees was, in—

		Per cent.			
The Ukraine	126,518	= 20·7	of all	Jews	gainfully occupied.
White Russia	25,508	= 16·9	,,	,,	,,
Moscow	35,338	= 50·1	,,	,,	,,
Leningrad	17,413	= 40·1	,,	,,	,,

The Jewish employees were distributed as follows:

Industry	26,709 (including the nationalized undertakings).
Trade and credit	61,736 ,, ,, ,,
Public institutions (State and communal administration)	90,965
Other undertakings	25,367

The detailed classification of Jewish employees in the Ukraine (1926) [1] shows the following distribution:

	Per cent.
Superior officials in public administration	9·7
Economic personnel	25·2
Technical ,,	4·5
Office ,,	21·5
Public health officials	0·2
Subordinate ,,	5·5
Clerks	7·7
Transport officials	0·2
Police ,,	1·1
Legal ,,	0·8
Medical and sanitary personnel	12·8
Educational officials	5·8
Officials in art institutions	1·8
Office servants	1·8
Others	1·4
	100·0

[1] Koralnik in *Wirtschaft und Leben* (Berlin, February 1930), p. 65.

The relative proportions of employees in public and in private undertakings is not stated, but the former were undoubtedly in an overwhelming majority. By 1932, according to semi-official data, the number of Jewish employees had risen to 450,000, or more than double the number of 1926.

In Soviet Russia the proportion of Jews in the army, and especially in the higher ranks, exceeds their percentage of the total population, a phenomenon not known anywhere else; in 1926 they formed 2·1 per cent of the Red Army, and 1·8 of the population.

The Jews formed—

	Per cent.
Among the officers	2·1
,, ,, administrative officials	3·9
In the political department	10·3
Among the army doctors	18·6
,, ,, ,, veterinary surgeons	4·5
,, ,, commissioned ranks	4·4
,, ,, N.C.O.'s and privates	1·6
,, ,, volunteers	3·4

In 1926 the percentage of Jews in the liberal professions was in—

	Per cent.		Per cent.			
The Ukraine	30·4	as against	5·4	in	the	total population.
White Russia	35·7	,,	8·2	,,	,,	,,
Moscow	22·8	,,	6·5	,,	,,	,,
Leningrad	23·9	,,	5·3	,,	,,	,,

(g) *Palestine*

The general and occupational census of October 1931 enumerates a total of 8745 Jews engaged in public services and the professions, making 38·3 per cent of those gainfully occupied in them, as against 18 per cent of the total settled (not nomadic) population. They were distributed as follows:

		Per cent.			
(1)	Army, air force, navy, police .	510 =	8·4	of all the earners in these occupations	
(2)	Public administration . .	793 =	22·5	,,	,, ,,
(3)	Professions and liberal arts:				
	(*a*) Religion	1594 =	48·7	,,	,, ,,
	(*b*) Lawyers, judges, law agents	163 =	44·7	,,	,, ,,
	(*c*) Lawyers' clerks, petition writers . . .	131 =	38·5	,,	,, ,,
	(*d*) Physicians, dentists, vet. surgeons . . .	617 =	72·8	,,	,, ,,
	(*e*) Midwives, nurses, masseurs, pharmacists . .	1131 =	58·6	,,	,, ,,
	(*f*) Professors, teachers, clerks, and servants connected with education . .	2348 =	56·0	,,	,, ,,
	(*g*) Letters, arts, science (incl. engineers, surveyors) .	1421 =	64·0	,,	,, ,,
	(*h*) House management (not domestic service) . .	37 =	48·0	,,	,, ,,
	Total (*a*)–(*h*) . .	7442 =	56·3	,,	,, ,,
	Total (1)–(3) . .	8745 =	38·3	,,	,, ,,

Thus the proportion of Jews in the army, air force, navy, and police is less than half their percentage of the entire population, is rather higher in public administration, and two to four times as high in the professions. Early in 1933 there were 452 Jewish doctors, forming 72·2 per cent of the total, and 161 lawyers, forming 61·4 per cent of those practising in the secular courts. By December 1933 the number of Jewish doctors had increased to more than 700 by immigration from Germany.

The proportion of doctors, dentists, and veterinary surgeons among the Jewish population is twelve times, and of lawyers four times, larger than among the non-Jews. This corresponds to some extent to the high cultural and economic standards of the Jews, and also to their professional distribution in the Diaspora, which is reflected among the

Jewish immigrants to Palestine, and may easily result in a serious overcrowding of those professions, especially as in Palestine the Jewish doctors and lawyers depend almost entirely on Jewish patients and clients.

(h) *Union of South Africa*

In the Union of South Africa, in 1927, out of a total number of 2040 doctors, 392 (19·2 per cent) were Jews, while their proportion of the white population amounted to 4 per cent only. Their proportion was similar among dentists, research chemists, and other liberal professions.[1]

[1] See L. Bramson, "Die Einwanderung nach Süd-Afrika", in *Die Jüdische Emigration* for June–July 1928 (Berlin).

IV. THE POLITICAL ARENA

CHAPTER XIV

THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIC EQUALITY AND THE RIGHTS OF A NATIONAL MINORITY

(1) Historical Retrospect

Two proclamations stand out like beacons to illuminate the re-entry of Jewry into the field of equal citizenship, closed to them since the Middle Ages. The first is contained in the American Revolutionary Declarations of 1776—that no man "can . . . be justly deprived or abridged of any civil right as a citizen on account of his religious sentiments or peculiar mode of religious worship"—while the second is the resolution passed by the French National Assembly in 1791 granting civil rights to all French Jews. This resolution was the logical consequence of the theory that all men are equal in the eyes of the law. Characteristics peculiar to separate groups of people were regarded as something purely temporary, a passing result of variations in social and political conditions, while there was a tendency to ignore racial and cultural differences, that is to say, any of the factors whereby humanity is subdivided into various nations. "*Aux Juifs comme nation nous ne donnons rien; aux Juifs comme individus nous donnons tout*", said Clermont-Tonnerre in the National Assembly, and similar sentiments were expressed by both Mirabeau and the Abbé Grégoire. About the same time the Dutch National Assembly laid down only one condition for the attainment of equal citizenship by Jews, and that was the renunciation of their customs and communal autonomy, so that the difference existing between them and their Batavian fellow-citizens should be one of religion alone.

The tendency to improve the condition of the Jews

spread from France to Central Europe, though in several countries it met with considerable opposition, and more than half a century passed before the right of equal citizenship was established for them in Belgium, Holland, England, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Switzerland, and Italy. In the Balkans, Greece, after the War of Liberation against the Turks in 1830, was the first State to recognize them as fully qualified citizens, while the Berlin Treaty of 1878 placed the Jews of the newly created States, Bulgaria and Serbia, on an equal footing with their other citizens. Only Russia and Roumania stubbornly held out against the movement and continued to treat the Jews as legally inferior, till the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the Great War finally swept away the restrictions on the Jews both in those countries and in the new Border States. Thus the last important barrier against Jewish civic equality in Europe was destroyed. In the Christian countries of the other continents civic rights were granted to the Jews in the eighteenth or early part of the nineteenth century, and in both Turkey and Egypt a law to the same effect was passed in 1855. In Algeria, conquered by the French in 1833, the Decree Crémieux of 1870 put them on the same footing as French citizens, so that they enjoy not merely the rights of natives but of Europeans. In Tunisia France has denied the right of naturalization to the Jews as a group; they are regarded as natives and can be naturalized as individuals only. It is the same in Morocco and Tripoli, countries which became French and Italian only a short time before the War. In Persia a decree of equalization was passed in 1906. The only European country in which civic restrictions against the Jews now exist once more is Germany.

(2) Incomplete Attainment of Equal Rights

The impetus for granting equality to Jews came from the policy of general enlightenment in the eighteenth century,

which culminated in the French Revolution; but after this beginning the struggle for equality was taken up by the Jews themselves in all countries where they had not yet been recognized as equals. In this struggle notable services were rendered by various Jewish organizations, such as the Board of Deputies of British Jews (founded in 1760), the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris (founded in 1860), the Anglo-Jewish Association (founded in 1871 and connected with the Board of Deputies by the Joint Foreign Committee), the Israelitische Allianz in Vienna (founded in 1873), the Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden in Berlin (founded in 1901), and the American Jewish Committee in New York (founded in 1906). Once the struggle had been decided in favour of Jewry all the world over, there would have been no further need for these organizations to continue their work had the equalization been put into effect. But in some countries the governments tried by devious methods to circumscribe the new status granted to the Jews, and such evasions were actively opposed by the above organizations. By appealing to public opinion or through the mediation of friendly Powers, they tried to persuade the authorities of such East European and Oriental States to change their policy. In many cases the mere fact that Jewish organizations existed in the most important States, able to give publicity to illegal or deleterious actions of such governments, was sufficient to bring about the desired change of policy.

The contraventions of the governments against the equalization of Jews may be divided into five classes:

(1) Refusal of naturalization to Jews, especially in the States created after the War.

(2) Discrimination against the Jews in the matter of appointments or promotion in the public services, or in the allocation of State contracts.

(3) Discrimination against the Jews in admittance to secondary schools and Universities.

(4) Measures connected with taxation and economic

matters which, without being openly directed against the Jews, place them at a disadvantage as compared to the non-Jews.

(5) Insufficient State assistance for Jewish educational, religious, and welfare organizations.

The complaint regarding the refusal of naturalization is more especially directed against Roumania, where it appears that some 30,000 Jews are living without any definite nationality. These Jews either immigrated before and during the War, or were included in Roumania by the annexation of new territories. Hitherto they have been refused naturalization in spite of the fact that a law passed in 1920 recognizes all persons domiciled in the country as citizens. They have only the duties, but none of the rights, of Roumanian subjects. The situation is similar in Poland, where a number of Jews who came from Russia after the War have till now been unable to obtain naturalization. In other countries also the percentage of Jews of alien nationality, or without nationality, is considerable, and this is chiefly due to migrations during and since the War. Thus in Switzerland, in 1920, 55 per cent of the Jewish population were either alien or without nationality; in 1925, in Latvia, 16·6 per cent. In Prussia, where the foreign Jews formed, in 1929, 18·9 per cent of all the Jews, there were among them—

46·3	per cent	Poles.
12·4	,,	Austrians.
9·1	,,	Russians.
4·9	,,	Czechoslovaks.
3·2	,,	Hungarians.
14·5	,,	of other nationality.
9·6	,,	without nationality.

According to official statistics, between 1922 and 1933, 10,300 East European Jews (not counting their wives and children) were naturalized in Prussia. The Nazi Government, in 1933, issued a decree whereby these naturaliza-

tions are liable to be cancelled whenever the Government thinks fit to do so. In Czechoslovakia, where, in 1925, 5 per cent of the Jews were aliens, as also in Vienna, their naturalization is being carried out in accordance with the rules laid down by the Peace Treaty. In 1931, 2230 Jews were naturalized in Czechoslovakia, and in Vienna 21,750 during 1920–1926.

In Egypt, in 1927, 65·5 per cent of the Jewish population were aliens (chiefly French, Italian, and British subjects). This is explained by the fact that Jews who entered Egypt as aliens, or without nationality, were loath to give up the privileged position they enjoyed as foreigners. For the same reason the Jews born in Tunisia are anxious to be granted French citizenship, which is facilitated by the law of 1923; between 1924 and 1930, 5265 of these were naturalized.

The second complaint, *i.e.* discrimination against the Jews in the matter of official appointments, etc., is directed against Roumania and Poland, and in a lesser degree also against Austria and Hungary. But the climax was reached in Germany, when, in the spring of 1933, the Nazi party came into power. They passed a law forbidding "non-Aryans" to hold official positions, and they carried through wholesale dismissals of Jewish officials, professors, teachers, judges, etc.

The third complaint is directed primarily against the Hungarian and Roumanian Universities; next against those in Poland where the *numerus clausus*, formerly in force in Tsarist Russia, is continued in practice. In Hungary it was officially annulled in 1928 as a result of a complaint addressed to the League of Nations by the Jews. But the Jews in Hungary are still in an inferior position as regards admittance to Universities, since preference is given to the children of officials and members of other professions among whom the percentage of Jews is small. In Poland they are in a similar position, more especially in the medical profession. The scholarships offered by the State in Poland and

Hungary in order to encourage young people to enter the Universities are only in the rarest cases available for Jews. Since the spring of 1933 a rigorous policy of limiting the number of Jewish students has been introduced in Germany.

The fourth complaint, *i.e.* excessive taxation and an economic policy disadvantageous to Jews, has regard mainly to Poland, Soviet Russia, and Roumania. In Poland the urban population is much more highly taxed than the rural, whereby the Jews, who live chiefly in towns, are particularly affected. The State assistance given to co-operative societies, and the introduction of State monopolies, are very harmful to the Jews because they limit the extent of free commerce, two-thirds of which were formerly carried on by them. In Roumania they are affected by the introduction of examinations for artisans and the restriction of the right to exercise handicrafts. In Soviet Russia, where, before the Revolution, more than 50 per cent of the Jews lived by commerce, its nationalization has taken from them their means of livelihood. But after many years of abject misery a number of them, and more especially of their children, have gradually succeeded in adapting themselves to the new economic order.

The fifth complaint, regarding insufficient assistance for Jewish organizations, is particularly serious in countries where the Jews enjoy national minority rights and support their own schools. While they pay the same taxes as the non-Jews, or even higher taxes, in some of these countries the assistance given to them by the State is far lower than to the non-Jews.

Added to these complaints, which may be classed together as political, economic, or financial, there are also complaints of a religious nature regarding, for instance, laws forbidding the ritual slaughtering of cattle, compelling public employees to work on the Sabbath day, and enforcing the observance of Sunday as a day of rest. The legal prohibition of Sunday work, and of opening shops on Sundays

in Poland, Lithuania, and Latvia, causes great economic hardship to the orthodox Jew who refuses to work on the Sabbath, for in this way he loses two days in every week. In Poland, up to 1932, it has only been possible to obtain a few small facilities regarding the opening of shops for several hours on Sundays, while in England a law passed in 1931 permits Jews of certain districts, such as the London East End where the proportion of Jewish inhabitants is high, to open their shops on Sundays if they close them on the Sabbath. In New York a similar law was passed in 1933.

(3) The Struggle for National Minority Rights

The legal emancipation of the Jews in France was carried out on the principle that the French Jews were not a separate nationality, but Frenchmen. This principle was adopted also in other countries of Western and Central Europe, and there was everywhere a tendency to divest the Jews of their national character. They themselves did not strongly oppose the demand that they should become assimilated to their fellow-citizens. But their case in Eastern Europe was very different. In France and Germany the work of assimilation was assisted by the fact that these two countries were nationally uniform (apart from the territory that became German through the Partitions of Poland), and that any difference in language and civilization of a small part of the population seemed anomalous. But in Russia and Austria-Hungary, where great masses of the population were of a nationality differing from that of the State, the attempts to force these to adopt the Russian, German, or Hungarian language in place of their mother-tongue met with violent opposition.

These national struggles were also carried on by the Jews

in Eastern Europe. While the Jews of France and Germany —barely 1 per cent of the population—had, in the course of the nineteenth century, adopted the language of the country, the majority of Jews in Eastern Europe, where they formed from 5 to 15 per cent of the population, still spoke their native Yiddish and had only a very slight knowledge of the State language. Only among their upper classes, educated in the State schools, was the official language adopted together with the tendency to be assimilated to the non-Jews. There was a distinct contrast between this upper class and the Jewish masses in Eastern Europe who still retained their language and civilization. Concurrently with the growth of a national movement among the oppressed nationalities a similar movement developed amongst these Jews. In Russia this movement centred partly round the bourgeois organizations of the Jewish People's Party and the National Democratic Party (founded about 1906), and partly round the organized Jewish workers of Russia united in the Socialist "Bund". In 1905 the "Bund" included in its programme the demand for cultural autonomy in the Diaspora based on the Yiddish language. The aim of the bourgeois autonomists, as formulated by their leader, the historian Simon Dubnow,[1] was the organic development of the Jewish people on lines determined by the conditions obtaining in the countries with considerable Jewish populations. They wished to preserve the Yiddish language, and to use it for instruction in schools, and they demanded administrative autonomy for Jewish communities. In Austria similar demands were formulated by the "Yiddishists" at the conference arranged in Czernowitz by Nathan Birnbaum in 1908. Both autonomists and Yiddishists are opposed both to assimilation and to Zionism, which aims at building up the Jewish National Home in Palestine and works for the revival of Hebrew.

[1] S. Dubnow, *Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, vol. x. p. 348 *et seq.* (Berlin, 1929).

Before the War the demand for national or cultural autonomy had been taken up by a large proportion of the Jews of Eastern Europe. In the "Nationalisation of the Diaspora" the Zionists, too, came to see a strengthening of the Jewish national consciousness and a stage on the road to Palestine. At the Helsingfors Conference in 1906, the Russian Zionists put forward the demand for national rights for the Jews in Russia and made it part of their programme; similarly the Austrian Zionists declared for cultural autonomy and a stronger participation of the Jews, as a separate group, in the politics of the country.

While formerly Jewish deputies could be found only in the ranks of parties without a specifically Jewish character, at the Austrian general election of 1907 the National Jews put up their own candidates, of whom four entered Parliament, and formed themselves into a Jewish Club.

(4) The Minority Treaties

The Peace Treaties wrought a fundamental change in the position of national minorities. Wherever nations inhabit compact territories, they have been granted national independence. But where they live scattered amongst other nationalities, which is the case of the Jews, the newly formed or reconstructed States were made to sign treaties guaranteeing the cultural rights of minorities, *i.e.* "of inhabitants who differ from the majority of the population in race,[1] language, or religion".

The Minority clauses were either embodied in separate treaties (*e.g.* in the Treaty signed between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and Poland at Versailles on June 18, 1919), or in separate chapters of a general Peace

[1] The word "race" is not employed in the anthropological sense, but rather to express the ethnic homogeneity possessed by a people through descent and common interest.

Treaty (*e.g.* in that concluded with Hungary at Trianon on June 4, 1920), or else in a special Declaration made by the State before the Council of the League of Nations (*e.g.* by Lithuania on May 12, 1922). Altogether agreements for the protection of national minorities were made with fourteen States: Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Greece, Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, Turkey, Albania, Esthonia, Finland, Latvia, and Lithuania.

According to these agreements, differences in race, language, or religion are not to debar any person from public office, functions, or honours, or from the practice of professions. National minorities are to be free to found and run charitable, religious, and social institutions, schools, and other educational establishments, using their own language and freely practising their own religion. The State must not interfere with the free use of their language in private intercourse, in trade, religion, in the press or other publications, or in public meetings. Further, the State is to give reasonable facilities to national minorities for the oral or written use of their languages in the law-courts. In towns and districts where a national minority with a language of its own forms a considerable proportion of the population, elementary schools are to be provided for it in which the instruction is given in its own language, though the State may insist on the official language, *i.e.* that of the majority, being included in the school curriculum. Further, in such towns and districts the national minority is to be given a fair share of the money which the State or the local authorities devote to education, religion, and public welfare.

On the other hand, national minorities are under an obligation loyally to co-operate as citizens with the nations in whose States they are included.

In all the Minority Treaties the League of Nations has been appointed guardian and guarantor of the rights and duties of the minorities. Disputes are to be settled by the League, or, in the last resort, by the Permanent Court of

International Justice at The Hague. As a rule the League can officially take up and adjudicate a complaint lodged by a national minority only if this is brought up by a State represented on the Council of the League. Minorities have repeatedly protested against this very unsatisfactory method of treating their grievances, and in 1929 the Council made a slight amendment in the procedure, which has not, however, satisfied the complainants.

The demand for the recognition of the Jewish nationality and its inclusion among the other minorities was the only constitutional method whereby the Jews of Eastern Europe could attain a similar measure of legally guaranteed cultural autonomy. Still, the Jewish minority differs essentially from the other minorities. It is not concentrated in one district, but is scattered all over the country; it is urban and forms islets in strange surroundings; it does not form a complete economic unit with agriculture for its natural basis, but consists mainly of traders and artisans dependent on non-Jewish customers; and unlike most other nationalities, it lacks the support of fellow-countrymen dominant in another country. But, on the other hand, their feeling of national affinity is not limited to their co-racials in their own or in another single country, but extends, though in a lesser degree, to the Jews in many other countries even where these differ from them in language and culture. The Jews, therefore, though rightly acknowledged as a national minority, differ from the other minorities and do not always share their interests.

The Jews of Turkey and Hungary, by declarations from their leading organizations, have renounced the rights of national minorities accorded to them by the Minority Treaties. In Hungary the declaration meant in fact that the large majority of the Jews wished to be regarded as Magyars and not as Jews by nationality. In Turkey the renunciation was made under strong pressure from the Government.

The Jewish minorities of the European countries have created a central organization in Paris for the protection of their interests—the Committee of Jewish Delegations, known since 1927 as the Council for the Rights of Jewish Minorities. In April 1929 it addressed a comprehensive memorandum to the Council of the League of Nations setting forth the deficiencies in the protection of their interests in various States. At regular intervals the Committee meets with representatives of other non-Jewish minorities in a Minority Congress. They met in Vienna in June 1932; the Jews did not, however, take part in the Congress at Berne in 1933, because freedom of speech was not guaranteed to them with regard to the Jewish question in Germany. The Geneva Congress of August 1929 demanded that the League of Nations should create an institute for minority problems similar to the International Labour Office.

(5) The Problem of Nationalities in Soviet Russia

Soviet Russia, which took no part in the Peace Treaty of Versailles, introduced independently a far-reaching system of national autonomy. The various nationalities, of which the Jews are regarded as one, were granted freedom in respect of language and education, and further, the administrative divisions of the country were made to coincide with national divisions, each nationality being granted administrative and political autonomy within its territory. This arrangement hardly affects the Jews, because they nowhere form a majority in any large district. But in 1926 the principle was put into effect in the district of Kalinindorf (Southern Ukraine), where, in a total of 25,000 inhabitants, the Jews formed 75 per cent ; Yiddish was recognized as the official language of the district, and the Jews form a majority in its administration. Another Jewish district of a similar kind was formed in 1929 in New-Zlatopol in the

The Jewish minorities of the European countries have created a central organization in Paris for the protection of their interests—the Committee of Jewish Delegations, known since 1927 as the Council for the Rights of Jewish Minorities. In April 1929 it addressed a comprehensive memorandum to the Council of the League of Nations setting forth the deficiencies in the protection of their interests in various States. At regular intervals the Committee meets with representatives of other non-Jewish minorities in a Minority Congress. They met in Vienna in June 1932; the Jews did not, however, take part in the Congress at Berne in 1933, because freedom of speech was not guaranteed to them with regard to the Jewish question in Germany. The Geneva Congress of August 1929 demanded that the League of Nations should create an institute for minority problems similar to the International Labour Office.

(5) The Problem of Nationalities in Soviet Russia

Soviet Russia, which took no part in the Peace Treaty of Versailles, introduced independently a far-reaching system of national autonomy. The various nationalities, of which the Jews are regarded as one, were granted freedom in respect of language and education, and further, the administrative divisions of the country were made to coincide with national divisions, each nationality being granted administrative and political autonomy within its territory. This arrangement hardly affects the Jews, because they nowhere form a majority in any large district. But in 1926 the principle was put into effect in the district of Kalinindorf (Southern Ukraine), where, in a total of 25,000 inhabitants, the Jews formed 75 per cent ; Yiddish was recognized as the official language of the district, and the Jews form a majority in its administration. Another Jewish district of a similar kind was formed in 1929 in New-Zlatopol in the

Southern Ukraine with 14,000 Jews, 5400 Ukrainians, and 600 Germans; and since then two further ones have come into being, one in the Ukraine, the other in the Crimea.

Russian statistics distinguish 191 ethnic groups (nationalities) and 153 different languages. Apart from the main body of the "European" Jews, four other Jewish ethnic groups are distinguished: the Jewish Mountaineers and the Georgian Jews in the Caucasus, the Crimchaks of the Crimea, and the Asiatic Jews in Bokhara. Among the 153 languages Yiddish is listed as "*yevreisky*", while other languages spoken by the Jews, such as Hebrew and Jewish-Persian, are omitted. In Russia everyone is included in the ethnic group to which he declares his adhesion, and only in the absence of such a declaration is his nationality ascertained by means of language or origin.

(6) Jewish Parties in Politics

The Jews, in the defence of their own national interests, are at a disadvantage as compared to other nationalities who, if a minority in one State, are dominant in another. Thus the Germans living in Poland can turn to the German Government, which can either bring up their grievance before the League of Nations, or intervene with the Polish Government, or even threaten reprisals against Poles living in Germany. The Jews have no such resort. In each country they depend on themselves, or at the utmost can seek the mediation of influential Jews in other countries. On the other hand, their demands for the protection of their national interests are free from an unpleasant political taint. This really should make their demands more acceptable for the governments, but hitherto it is just in those countries with the largest Jewish populations (Poland and Roumania) that the governments have often shown a lack of sympathy and understanding for Jewish national

demands. The nineteenth century tradition, according to which the national minorities of a State are at the best tolerated without their language or civilization being recognized, still less encouraged, has not yet been overcome, in spite of Minority Treaties. This results in the Jews being often forced into political opposition to the government of the country, and they are thus brought into line with the other minorities, who likewise accuse the government of failing to carry out the Minority Treaty. Still, the present position of the Jews in Eastern Europe compares favourably with that of former days, because, under the present system of representation, in most States each nationality is enabled to elect its own representatives to Parliament. In Poland, Roumania, Latvia, and Czechoslovakia there exist Jewish Parliamentary parties, which means that the Jews are no longer obliged to join non-Jewish parties. Their deputies are true representatives of the Jews and can raise their voice in Parliament whenever they consider that Jewish rights are disregarded.

While the minority clauses are no safe protecting wall ensuring the permanency of Jewish nationality and civilization, they offer to Jewry, where it desires to preserve its characteristics, far greater legal powers than it had before, when all means for protecting the Jews against State interference in their cultural life was lacking. But where there is no desire for such national self-preservation, minority legislation is a useless scrap of paper. Thus the final decision regarding the continued existence of the Jews as a nationality in Eastern Europe does not depend on the laws protecting minorities, but on the factors which exert a positive or negative influence on their will to survive as a nation.

CHAPTER XV

ANTI-SEMITISM

(1) ORIGIN

HATRED of the Jews, or, as it is loosely called, anti-Semitism, has existed ever since the beginning of the Diaspora. Before the Emancipation of the Jews the hatred and contempt shown to them received a certain measure of official sanction in that the State refused them rights enjoyed by other inhabitants and treated them as aliens of inferior status. But a social dislike against them continued even after their legal Emancipation, and the upper classes of society have been reluctant to admit them into their ranks.

The original source of Jew-hatred is in the group instinct which—like the herd instinct of animals—welds men connected by common descent, language, customs, and interests into a harmonious community, but causes them to distrust and dislike members of other groups. The Jews came to Europe as strangers, and remained so by reason of differences in descent, religion, culture, and occupations. Nor, till the Renaissance, had they any reason to wish to obliterate or renounce their alien character—they were representatives of an ancient Eastern civilization in the midst of the more primitive Western culture. The hatred of the Jews could therefore develop as part of the general xenophobia which permeates history, ancient and medieval, and after a short interruption in the age of enlightenment and cosmopolitanism, has now reappeared in the form of an exaggerated nationalism. The man who works for peace within his own group is respected, and so is he who acts as an enemy to strangers. Primitive tribes judge and esteem a man accord-

ing to the number of enemies he has slain. Hatred, and the urge to give vent to it, is deeply rooted in human nature; otherwise history would not present a continuous series of wars.

Other sources of anti-Semitism can be found in the conceptions that the Jews are enemies of Christ, upstarts, and rivals in trade. To this day, with many Christians, anti-Semitism has its roots, often unconscious, in the religious education received in childhood; the Jews then appeared to them as the crucifiers of Christ, and as the incarnation of evil—a picture which seldom is completely expunged in after-life and which offers a receptive ground for unfavourable feelings towards the Jews. Only comparatively few, highly educated, Christians recognize the part played by the Jews as the people of the Bible and as the ethical forerunners of Christianity. Mohammedans, with all their religious fanaticism, have never shown the same hostility to the Jews as the Christians.

Since the Middle Ages till the nineteenth, and in some cases even to the twentieth, century, the Jews were deprived of political rights and socially relegated to inferior positions. Many non-Jews still remember these conditions and regard it as a disparagement of themselves if the Jews, by means of their wealth and education, rise into the upper classes. This dislike against the Jew as an upstart is strongest where society is divided into traditional classes and castes, and where the Jews attain wealth and education, not in isolated cases only, but in large numbers, and claim a corresponding place in society.

Frequently economic interests work in the same direction. In the Diaspora the Jews live chiefly by brain-work (which under the capitalist system is better paid than manual labour) and they overcrowd the intellectual professions. Thus in the large towns, which they mainly inhabit, they have grown into dangerous rivals for the non-Jews. Had they turned to agriculture or gone into the factories, no

such hostility against them would have arisen, as the people concerned would not have felt endangered in their social or economic interests. In pre-War Germany, the home of modern anti-Semitism, the dislike of the Jews was due to the caste spirit of the privileged classes (nobles, officers, high officials), and to the economic interests of the middle classes, which feared the competition of the Jews in business and the professions.

In certain countries political factors have contributed to the growth of anti-Semitism. Where the Jews are kept down either by law or by social anti-Semitism, it is only natural that they should turn against a system which is responsible for these barriers and join the opposition parties (Liberal or Progressive); and where the majority of them live in a state of poverty, they join the parties—Socialist or Communist—which fight against the capitalist system and aim at changing economic conditions. In both cases the number of Jews among the leaders is out of proportion to their percentage of the population, because as inhabitants of towns they take a greater part in politics, and because the percentage of men with a higher education is much greater among them. With the non-Jews discontent and revolutionary activities centre in the proletariat, but with the Jews there is another storm-centre in the intellectuals, who are prevented by anti-Semitism from attaining the position otherwise due to them. The part played by Jews in the Opposition or among the revolutionaries counts against them with the ruling parties and classes. Anti-Semitism, like all xenophobia, tends to blame entire groups for the acts of individuals, and consequently Jewry as a whole is accused of hostility against the State and of evincing a destructive mentality. But as a matter of fact the Jews join the Opposition to any large extent only where their legal or economic situation is unsatisfactory; and have not done so either in Great Britain, or in France, or in the United States. In modern times the party colour of the Jews, as of all other groups, is determined by their

political and economic condition—where it is favourable they incline to Conservatism.

With the ultra-nationalists, solely intent on the power of their own State and indifferent to the interests of others, the Jews are suspect because of their pacifist tendencies. The fact of their being scattered throughout the world is bound to make them less intensely "nationalist" in outlook, for so long as any affinity, however weak, subsists between them, an attack against any one country, as it affects its Jews, must to some extent be felt by them all. It is therefore logical that they should be interested in the peaceful settlement of conflicts between nations, work for an understanding between them, and try to bring the interests of particular nations into harmony with the general interests of mankind. This desire is counted against the Jews wherever all interests are subordinated to the "will to power" of the State.

Another reason for anti-Semitism exists where Jews have migrated from a backward to a highly civilized country. Till the end of the nineteenth century anti-Semitism was practically unknown in the United States, because the immigrant German Jews were not very numerous and were equal in culture to the Americans. It only arose when large numbers of Jews began to arrive from Eastern Europe—they seemed much inferior to the Americans, at least in appearance. The Americans feared that these immigrants, as also the non-Jewish immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe, would lower the cultural level of the American people, and therefore tried to limit their immigration while interfering as little as possible with that from Northern Europe. Moreover, there was the fear that the "new immigration", accustomed to a lower standard of living, would depress wages. Similarly Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe has certainly, during the last decades, contributed to the growth of anti-Semitism in Germany. The Jews who had been long resident in Germany had become assimilated

to the Germans in language, traditions, and customs. The alien character was much stronger in the immigrants who, however, knew German (from Yiddish or from having learned it at school in Galicia), and in many cases had received a German University education and could, therefore, rise quickly in business and enter the professions in large numbers. The Jewish immigrants in France and England were far less conspicuous, being unable to enter the higher social strata in the first generation.

The degree of anti-Semitic feeling depends also on the condition of the people among whom the Jews live. It is strongest when a nation is in distress and seeks for an escape from it—it is in human nature not to accept distress as something inevitable, but to look round for a culprit on whom the blame could be thrown. What then is more natural than that the chosen scapegoat should be a group of people who are anyhow unpopular and on whom feelings of anger and despair can be vented without fear of reprisals! In Turkey, during the War, not the Jews but the Armenians were massacred because they were alien in an even higher degree.

In post-War Germany popular feelings have been stirred by the humiliation of the Versailles Treaty, and this combined with unemployment has prepared the ground for anti-Semitism. All hatred was directed against the Jews because they were the only alien group in the country which was weak and defenceless against an attack. Moreover, this group contained new-comers from Eastern Europe, Austria, and Hungary, and a disproportionately large number of intellectuals who appeared as leaders among the Progressive and Socialist parties, opposed to the Nationalist-Socialist movement. This opposition was not directed against the Nazi endeavours for a restoration of Germany, but in support of the principles of democracy, to which the Jews have adhered since their Emancipation, and in opposition to the anti-Jewish tendency which, since the very beginning, was an outstanding feature of the Nazi movement. The Nazis

found it convenient to blame the Jews for the defeat of Germany and for the economic distress of the country. As at the time of the "Black Death" the Jews had been accused of poisoning the wells and causing the plague, so now they were of having brought about the downfall of the Monarchy and the defeat of Germany.

It was useless for the Jews to try and prove with the most cogent arguments that the defeat and distress of Germany were due to causes over which they had no control. Masses in despair do not listen to reason, but follow anyone who works on their feelings, directs their discontent against some "culprit", and promises them salvation from their distress. The Nazis have proved past masters in such propaganda and have rapidly acquired a large following, especially among the younger generation. When they came into power, in March 1933, their rage was directed against all parties which had tried to implement the Versailles Treaty and work for a future international understanding, but chiefly against Jews who had identified themselves with such parties. For the first time since the Emancipation a systematic campaign was undertaken against the Jews at the initiative and with the approval of the Government. Decrees were passed whereby officials, professors, lawyers, doctors, etc., who were either Jews or of Jewish descent, were deprived of their positions. Similarly, at the instigation of the Government, they were excluded from the boards of scientific institutes and of economic and professional associations. Sports clubs excluded their Jewish members, and no longer permitted Jews to represent Germany in international events, even where they had competed successfully on former occasions. This was a new experience in the modern history of the Jews. In certain countries the governments had been slow in emancipating them, but there had always been an upward trend towards an equality of rights, and a step in that direction had never before been reversed. In Germany, however, the Government suddenly

wiped out all that had been attained, and overnight relegated the Jews to the inferior position which they held a hundred years ago.

The full significance of this catastrophe affecting more than half a million people, most of whom for many generations had been closely connected with German culture and with the German economic system, cannot as yet be fully appraised. But it is obvious that a wound has been inflicted on the self-respect of the German Jews and their hopes for integral reception into the body politic of Germany which for many years will not close, not even should the present activities of the Nazi Government be discontinued or reversed.

(2) Defence and its Results

For the past fifty years the Jews have been trying, more or less unsuccessfully, to combat or restrain the anti-Semitic movement. Time and again eminent Christian scholars and politicians have protested against it, rulers have condemned it (*e.g.* the German Emperor Frederick), associations to counteract it have been formed by both Jews and non-Jews in Berlin, Vienna, London, and Paris, with a view to countering anti-Semitic attacks and taking legal action against anti-Semitic slanders. Before the War, when pogroms occurred in Eastern Europe, young Jews formed themselves into defensive associations and offered armed resistance, in many cases preventing further bloodshed. But it was impossible to stop the flood of anti-Semitism and especially to prevent its permeating social life. While anti-Semitism never before degenerated into the orgy of hatred and the systematic expulsion of Jews from professions as it suddenly did in Germany in 1933, symptoms of it are evident in many countries. In some, the governments have failed to put the legal equalization of the Jews into effect, while in others, where the governments are

free from anti-Semitism, society shows itself hostile. In the United States Jews are, to all intents and purposes, debarred from select clubs and students' unions, and a similar social ostracism exists in Austria, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. In the Mohammedan States of North Africa and Western Asia there is hostility based mainly on religious differences and which, from time to time, results in anti-Jewish outbreaks. On the other hand, Great Britain and the British Dominions, Belgium, Holland, the Scandinavian countries, Italy, Spain, and South America are not to any marked extent affected by anti-Semitism.

In the countries where the Jews are socially ostracized, they form their own social and athletic clubs, lodges, societies, youth associations, etc. The Jewish lodges in the United States have increased greatly and now comprise nearly 200,000 members. The segregation of the Jews in clubs and unions of their own is, however, merely a partial solution. It is not applicable to all spheres in the case of a group so closely connected with the economic and cultural life as the Jews are in Western and Central Europe and America. A certain measure of intercourse between Jews and non-Jews must continue, and this suffers less from anti-Semitism which vents itself in open hostility than from one which simmers underground—the latter produces a feeling of uncertainty, as the Jew is never sure whether the non-Jew with whom he is dealing is not an unavowed anti-Semite. Most serious of all are the effects of anti-Semitism in the schools, where it imbues the non-Jewish children with feelings of hatred against the Jewish children, and these in turn with a feeling of inferiority, which renders true comradeship impossible. Thus all intercourse between Jews and non-Jews in countries dominated by anti-Semitism is full of constraint.

Anti-Semitism necessarily leaves its effect on the character of the Jew by stamping him with a mark of inferiority which prevents his free development. On the other hand,

in many cases he feels intellectually superior and seeks compensation in an exaggerated self-consciousness and desire to establish his worth. "It is the tragedy of the Jew that he unites two contrary feelings in his soul: the sense of superiority and the sense of stigma."[1]

(3) The Aryan Theory

During the last few decades anti-Semitism in Germany has created its own ideology. It is not satisfied with asserting that the Jews are dangerous rivals in trade, or that there are too many of them among the intellectuals, or that they incline more than non-Jews to pacifism, democracy, and social revolution, but looks upon all Jews as aliens to the German people in "race" and "blood". According to this theory the Jews as "non-Aryans", because of their racial heritage, can never come to feel at one with the German people, as this is of "Aryan" stock. Therefore, to preserve the German national character from alien Jewish influences, it is necessary to expel the Jews from the high position they hold in German economy, culture, and politics.

The "Aryan" theory had its forerunner, about the middle of the nineteenth century, in Comte de Gobineau, a Frenchman, and about the end of the century in Houston Stewart Chamberlain, a naturalized German. According to them, the "Aryans" alone—the fair, blue-eyed, dolichocephalic, tall Nordics—are responsible for the great cultural achievements of mankind, while all other races are inferior. As, however, it was obvious that only a small proportion of the present inhabitants of Germany are blond and blue-eyed, the new "national" anti-Semitism has, while partly preserving the racial basis in the main, substituted for it a metaphysical "oneness" of all Germans, sometimes ex-

[1] Jakob Wassermann, *Mein Weg als Deutscher und Jude* (Berlin, 1921), p. 54.

plained by a common descent and sometimes by a common "nationality" (*Volkstum*). In the German decrees for the exclusion of Jews passed in the spring of 1933, Jews, and those born of one Jewish parent or grandparent, are described as "non-Aryans", and are denied any share in German "nationality", while the Jewish spirit is attacked as diametrically opposed to the German. To degrade the Jews still further, official decrees bracket "Jews and coloured people". It would seem that to enjoy one's own characteristics one needs proudly to assert that some alien group does not possess them—the glory of Ormuzd shines more brightly against the darkness of Ahriman.

Never before has such wrong use been made of science, nor have various scientific principles been mixed up in such a jumble as in the attempt to base allegedly scientific arguments on a word so vague and contradictory as that of "Aryan". Either the "Aryans" are a race in the anthropological sense, and then, however it is defined, not the Jews only, but considerable parts of the German nation are excluded from it, as the German people is composed of widely differing elements, including dark-haired, brachycephalic types; or it is used to describe an ethnic group, in which case it is impossible to define its limits. So far the theory has not got beyond the formula, "All which is Jewish is not Aryan", or "All that is Aryan is not Jewish". Are all non-Jewish inhabitants of Germany Aryans—also the Poles and Wends? And what about other white races—are, *e.g.*, the Finns, Magyars, Turks, and Arabs to be considered "Aryans"?

The Jews undoubtedly differ from the German non-Jews in origin and race, which does not mean that every Jew, and every non-Jew, necessarily possesses a full and exclusive complement of certain peculiarities; but merely that certain types are more frequent in the one group than they are in the other. Nor does it mean that these types are necessarily opposed to, or exclusive of, each other. Otherwise it would not have been possible, during the past

century, for so many Jews to play an important part, and to co-operate with non-Jews, in science, literature, and music. In fact, there is nothing in civilization, no heights and no depths, where Jews and non-Jews do not meet. Criminology knows no crime peculiar to Jews or non-Jews only; and where there is a difference in frequency, it can usually be accounted for by social conditions.[1] When comparing the mentality of the Jews with that of the German non-Jews, the most that can be said is that rationalism is more prominent among the Jews. But this is a peculiarity of an urban population, and is increasing among the non-Jews wherever they live concentrated in towns. The way in which birth control—a striking symptom of the rationalist outlook—has spread among the non-Jews in Germany shows that the Jews are merely forerunners of the non-Jews in that direction.

The Nazi movement in Germany is largely a reaction against modern economic and cultural tendencies; but instead of attacking the millions of German non-Jews who have adopted a rationalist or a materialist outlook, the Nazis have turned on the Jews as its most obvious exponents. This enables them to avoid attacking a large part of their own people, and to shift all the blame on to an alien group—the enemy is placed beyond the pale and can be combated with greater ruthlessness. But in fact the rationalist Jew of the large cities, devoid of Jewish tradition, is not typical of his race. The orthodox Jews of Eastern Europe still form a very large part of the nation, and are most strongly bound by tradition. The Chassidic movement in Jewry was a revolt against the exclusive rule of reason. The Messianic movement which continued throughout the Middle Ages into modern times shows how strong the faith in miracles was among the Jews, defying all sceptical reasoning. Lastly, the Zionist movement in our own days, with its

[1] Cf. the chapter on "Criminality" in my book, *Soziologie der Juden*, vol. i. (Berlin, 1930).

voluntary sacrifices in life, health, and property, shows what an amount of idealism there still is in the Jewish people.

(4) The New anti-Jewish Legislation in Germany

The Nazis tried to destroy with one blow all that previous governments had done during more than a century in relation to the Jews. As counterpart to Emancipation these governments demanded that the Jews should renounce their identity and adopt German culture—all the Prussian and Austrian decrees of the time invariably postulated that Jews should become assimilated to their Christian fellow-citizens in language, name, culture, and customs; and during the period of enlightenment and humanitarianism this demand was put forward by all the governments of Western and Central Europe. Possibly without this external pressure these Jews would not have been in such a hurry to discard all that was Jewish, but, like those of Eastern Europe, would have retained the national characteristics longer. Still, history cannot be reversed, and successive generations of Jews in Western and Central Europe have become increasingly estranged from Jewish tradition, and assimilated to the culture of their surroundings. The men of the period of enlightenment were wrong in thinking that nationality can be treated as something obsolete and that a people can, by an act of will, change overnight; but equally wrong is the nationalist reasoning of to-day when it treats the "nationality" of a man as something eternal and unchangeable. In the course of generations individuals, or even entire groups, can change their nationality, and there are innumerable examples of their having done so. Assimilation is possible to a very high degree. Disraeli was leader of the Conservatives and Prime Minister, and is counted to this day as one of the greatest British statesmen of the nineteenth century; while in Prussia the baptized Jew Stahl was the theoretical

founder of the Conservative party. Jews fought enthusiastically in German wars, and have enriched German science and art by achievements which will be remembered long after the present attempts at belittling them have been forgotten.

Not in all cases was the assimilation of the German Jews complete, and there were many families which had lived in Germany for generations and still showed a marked preference for Jewish tradition and culture, and did not share the predilection which the Germans have for Teuton mythology, their love of games, or their warlike spirit. But under the influence of German culture and of mixed marriages the percentage of these Jews was steadily decreasing, while games, which only two generations ago seemed to the Jews unimportant or ridiculous, now play an important part, and proficiency in them is widely and successfully cultivated.

If this process of assimilation and Germanization of the Jews had not been suddenly destroyed by the high tide of anti-Semitism, a split would probably have occurred in German Jewry; the majority would have been absorbed by the Germans, while a minority would have joined the new Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. The process of assimilation would have been assisted by the decline in the Jewish birth-rate and the increasing participation of the non-Jews in professions in which the Jews had hitherto held an eminent position.

It is a violation of acquired rights if the German Government now cancels what previous governments had deliberately done, in the course of several generations, if they refuse to the Jews the rights assured to them at the time of their Emancipation, and relegate them once more to the position of aliens. It is cruelty to forbid Jewish officials, judges, lawyers, doctors, artists, or journalists to continue in the professions which they have honourably practised, or other Jews to enter professions for which they have been training for many years. What Germany has done under the

Nazi Government exceeds by far all that other governments have done or attempted in the way of limiting the freedom of the Jews in business and the professions. These limited the number of Jews to be admitted to the Universities or to certain professions, but it never occurred to them to interfere with Jews, or men of Jewish descent, who had already entered a profession, or to demand the dismissal of Jewish employees in industrial or commercial undertakings.

It is not consistent with the ideas of modern justice to discriminate against, or to dishonour, citizens merely on the ground of their belonging to a certain ethnic group. Recognition of the rights of national minorities to preserve their identity within the framework of the State and without loss of civic rights is a dearly acquired attainment of the twentieth century; and Germany ought to be particularly interested in the maintenance of this principle in view of the many Germans living in foreign countries. But even if the contention of the Nazis were correct that the position which the Jewish minority occupies in Germany's cultural and economic life is unbearable for the German non-Jews, the manner in which the German Government has tried to solve the problem, with a total disregard of Jewish rights and at the expense of the Jews, remains an outrage. When Napoleon I intended to solve the Jewish problem in France, he summoned a Jewish Synhedrin and submitted to them a number of questions. If the German Government feared the Jewish influence in German cultural and economic life, they should similarly have first asked the Jews themselves whether they had any proposals to make in that matter.

Such an attempt at a peaceful settlement of the problem would have been possible if, on the one hand, the German Government had recognized that the close connexion of the Jews with German economy and culture, and their disproportionate participation in certain professions, were the result of circumstances for which the Jews were not re-

sponsible, and were therefore their fate and not their fault; and if the Jews, on the other hand, had recognized that their peculiar position among the Germans was bound to lead to conflicts which had their origin in the nature of man, and could not be removed by argument and reason. Had both sides realized that the present position was due not to bad will but to circumstances, which had arisen independently of the will of either side, it would have been unnecessary to attempt the solution of the Jewish problem in an orgy of unbridled hatred, which does no honour to the Germans and drives the Jews of every age into a hell of social degradation.

It is clear that the Jewish problem in Germany is unique in its kind, and cannot be solved by adopting the East European principle of Jewish national autonomy, or by a complete absorption of the German Jews by the German people, or by emigration to Palestine. Various intermediary and partial solutions will be required to reach a *modus vivendi*. But the position created by the Nazi attitude and legislation is untenable for either side. The violation of the principle of equal rights for citizens is certain to raise difficulties for Germany herself. Nor is the hostility of sixteen million Jews, which Germany has incurred, a negligible factor, either politically or economically.

The future of anti-Semitism in Germany and elsewhere largely depends on the further development of political and economic conditions. If the present crisis is successfully overcome, general discontent—and with it anti-Semitism—will decrease. The same could be expected if the present international tension, with its distrusts, armaments, and tariff barriers, was replaced by a period of international *rapprochement* and economic peace. But so long as nations refuse to acknowledge the equality of all ethnic groups, the Jews (and all other national minorities which are unable to defend themselves) will have to resign themselves to playing the part of scapegoats for the hatreds of the "majority-

nations". It is foolish to believe that anti-Semitism can be combated by scientific arguments, however cogent they may be; and it was a fatal mistake of the Jews when, in their rationalism, they believed that popular instincts could be met by reason. Where hostility exists between groups, new arguments will always be found or invented to justify it. In the Middle Ages many women who were disliked because of their odd appearance or behaviour were burnt at the stake as witches, it having been proved beyond all doubt in the Law Courts that they had caused great harm by their "evil eye" or other sorceries. Countless Jews were tortured and done to death in the Middle Ages because both the judges and the people were blinded to such an extent by superstition and hatred that they sincerely believed the tales of "ritual murder" and desecration of the Host. When popular passions seek for a victim, even in these enlightened days, they are never short of arguments and do not inquire into their soundness.

Conditions in Palestine are different in that the Jews and non-Jews tend to concentrate in particular districts. Moreover, although the Jews are in the minority, they are in Palestine percentually more numerous and economically and politically stronger in comparison with the non-Jews than in any other country. The conflict between Jews and Arabs in Palestine resembles, therefore, not so much the anti-Semitism of a strong non-Jewish majority against a weak Jewish minority, but much rather a rivalry between two equal nations. Such rivalry may be marked, but it lacks the tang of contempt and helplessness which renders anti-Semitism in Europe so hard to bear for the Jews.

V. PHYSICAL IMPROVEMENT

CHAPTER XVI

ENDEAVOURS TO IMPROVE THE PHYSICAL STANDARD

(1) EUGENICS

EUGENICS, which teaches that the physical and mental characteristics of children are determined by the predisposition of the parents, is gradually leading to the demand that persons of defective predisposition should either not marry, or should at least practise birth-control. In the words of the prophet Ezekiel, the children's teeth should not be set on edge because the fathers ate sour grapes. Till the nineteenth century in the arranging of Jewish marriages preference was given to scholars versed in Hebrew literature and tradition, it being the ambition of parents to marry their daughter to a scholar, or their son to the daughter of a scholar. Salomon Maimon relates in his autobiography that in the eighteenth century in Poland "the rich traders, farmers, and artisans did all they could to obtain a good Talmudist for son-in-law even if he was deformed or ailing". As far back as Babylon the Talmud taught: "Turn all that thou hast into money and procure in marriage for thy son the daughter of a scholar, and for thy daughter a scholar". Whether the aim was to secure a happy marriage and a good social position, or whether there was the conscious idea of producing able children, the preference given to the families of scholars resulted in a systematic selection leading towards intellectual development. While at present large families are only found among the poor, it was formerly the privilege of rich Jews to bring up many children, those of the poor dying in large numbers in the unhygienic conditions of the ghetto. Thus the preference in marriage given to scholars

by the rich secured the better survival of the selected strain.

Still, this one-sided preference for intellect and scholarship had its drawbacks, for it led to indifference to other qualities in the bridegroom (in the case of the bride some attention at least was paid to beauty). The consequences are felt to this day among the Jews in that the proportion of highly gifted, but also of mentally or physically deficient, individuals is greater than among the non-Jews. Moreover, the high value placed on human life by the Jews has made them do all in their power to secure the survival of every child, however sickly, and to enable it to found a family of its own.

Another factor which, according to Fishberg,[1] raised the number of the mentally or physically deficient among the Jews was that the Jewish religious law made marriage a duty for both young men and girls, and therefore the Jewish communities have always tried to facilitate it. In almost every community a society existed for providing trousseaux, but no attention was paid to the mental or physical fitness of a couple for marriage and the procreation of children. Epileptics, feeble-minded, blind, or deaf-mutes were enabled to marry, and it was thought that two such invalids made a perfect match.

Lastly, the existence of the two extremes of highly gifted and physically and mentally deficient individuals is to some extent due to intermarriages in the family which were formerly numerous among the Jews. There was the desire by means of such marriages to preserve property in the family or to provide for a poor relation, a tendency arising from the highly developed family instincts. Marriages within the family were favoured, and the degrees of relationship barred by Jewish Law are particularly few, admitting even marriage between an uncle and his niece.

[1] "Eugenics in Jewish Life", in *Journal of Heredity*, vol. viii. No. 12 (Washington, 1917).

In recent times the number of intermarriages in the family has decreased among European Jews. In Hungary, before the War, the official licence necessary for a marriage between cousins, uncle and niece, or aunt and nephew, was applied for by Jews more often than by non-Jews; but in the period 1927–1929 the proportion of marriages within these degrees was only 3·22 per thousand with the Jews as against 4·35 with the non-Jews. This change is partly due to the growing recognition of the danger of marriage in the family and partly to the concentration of the Jews in large cities. Here the circle for social intercourse is wider, whereas in towns with a small number of resident Jewish families marriages between blood-relations were more frequent.

Doctors at present are on the whole agreed that intermarriage between relations is not harmful when the parents are in a perfect state of health, which is very rare. Certain minor physical or mental defects are common, and in marriages between close relatives it is very probable that both husband and wife suffer from the same defect which they will transmit to their children in an aggravated form. It has been proved that deaf-muteness is frequent in children of such intermarriages, and apparently results from an accumulation of nervous disorders unimportant in the parents. On the other hand there is also the probability that similar talents exist on both sides and will be transmitted to the children in a heightened form. For good and evil intermarriages in the family lead to an intensification of qualities in the children.

In Europe growing attention is paid to eugenic principles in marriage, and also among the Jews the unfit increasingly avoid having children, which leads to a "self-purification of the race". Further, the public should be enlightened with regard to the dangers of intermarriage in the family and marriages at too early an age, which have almost completely disappeared among the European Jews, but are still frequent in the Near East.

A favourable factor among the Jews is the rare occurrence of alcoholism with its deleterious effects on the progeny. The number of arrests for drunkenness in Warsaw and Lodz (chiefly drunkenness in the streets) was—

	Year.	Jews.	Non-Jews.	Number to every 10,000 among the	
				Jews.	Non-Jews.
Warsaw .	1925	87	11,994	3	192
Lodz .	1926–28	96	11,722	6	395
,, .	1929	49	5,200	3	176

The reason why Jews so little incline to drunkenness is not certain, but other Oriental and South European nations are also very moderate in the consumption of alcoholic liquors in contradistinction to those of Northern Europe. The difference in climatic conditions is hardly a sufficient explanation, because the Jews of Northern Europe do not differ in that respect from those of other countries. Their moderation is the more remarkable as total abstainers are rare among them—they drink, but are not drunkards, possibly because they are to a higher degree governed by reason.

The same difference does not exist between Jews and non-Jews in respect of other stimulants such as tea, coffee, and tobacco; if anything, their consumption is greater among the Jews, but their effects are less harmful. It is not known whether there is any difference in the use of drugs, such as opium and cocaine.

(2) Hygiene

The Jewish religious regulations, which include rules of hygiene, have in the past exercised a beneficial influence on the health of the people. The prohibition of sexual promiscuity for men and women alike has protected the Jews from

venereal diseases. But modern developments, especially the crowding together of masses of people in large cities and the emerging of women from domestic into economic life, have given rise to new problems which are beyond the range of primitive hygiene. The War, followed by epidemics, starvation, and homelessness, produced conditions among the Jews of Eastern Europe which led to a spreading of diseases that had formerly appeared only sporadically. The increase of tuberculosis among adults, and of tuberculosis, scrofula, trachoma, and favus among children, was alarming.

The Jewish Society for the Preservation of Health, founded in Petersburg in 1912, and known, from its Russian initials, as the OSE, has done important work in improving these conditions in Eastern Europe, except in Poland where similar work is done by the TOZ, which is closely connected with the OSE. In Soviet Russia, especially in the district of Odessa, the OSE has formed together with the Joint Distribution Committee the "Medical Commission Joint-OSE", and works through local hygienic and medical societies (EMSO); in Lithuania, Latvia, Bessarabia, Danzig, the district of Vilna, and the East End of London it works under the name of OSE.

The activities of both OSE and TOZ are mainly on the lines of prophylactics and include the care for—

Welfare of mothers and infants.
School hygiene.
Control of infectious diseases.
Upkeep of playgrounds and convalescent homes for children.
Upkeep of ambulances and clinics.
Public instruction on matters of hygiene.

The OSE publishes a monthly in Berlin in German, the *OSE-Rundschau*. The funds of the OSE and TOZ are derived from subscriptions, local contributions, special collections, and subsidies from the "Joint".

In Palestine similar work is carried on among the Jews by the American Medical Organization "Hadassah", which

runs hospitals in the larger towns. Its budget in 1932–1933 amounted to about £90,000, of which approximately two-thirds were contributed by the Women's Organization Hadassah in the United States.

(3) Games

Up to the end of the nineteenth century the Jews took practically no steps to improve, by means of exercise, the physical fitness of the rising generation. The children in the *chayderim* (Jewish religious schools) in Eastern Europe were forced to study from morning to night. The ideal of education was the *matmid*—the scholar who, without intermission, studied Hebrew writings. The improvement of the physique was considered unimportant.

Only since about the end of the nineteenth century has a change supervened. In Central Europe the Jews, imitating the non-Jews, began to enter gymnastic and sports clubs, but meeting with anti-Semitism, proceeded to form clubs of their own (*e.g.* the "Bar Kochba" in Berlin, in 1888). From Germany and Austria this movement has spread to Eastern Europe, and to-day almost every country has Jewish clubs for gymnastics, hiking, water sports, football, etc., combined in larger unions. Of these the most important is the "Makkabi", which in 1933 had a membership of about 100,000; its main branches are in Palestine, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Roumania, Yugoslavia, and Austria, and in the spring of 1932 it arranged an Olympiad (*Makkabiah*) at Tel-Aviv in Palestine. Games and gymnastics are not the sole aim of the "Makkabi", and it does not give preference to the development of the body over that of the mind, but preserves a sensible balance between the two. Further, a number of Jewish societies, such as the "Pathfinders", have been formed in several European countries on the lines of the Boy Scouts Organiza-

tion. These have exercised a considerable influence on Jewish youth, training it to discipline and physical effort and stimulating the love of nature.

In the United States and Canada the Jewish Welfare Board, founded in 1921, includes some 200 Jewish Youth Associations, which, on lines similar to those followed by the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., care for the physical and mental welfare of Jewish youth. They organize lectures and courses on various subjects, as well as games and athletics. In about 150 towns there are "Jewish Centres" which have lecture-halls and gymnasiums and serve as meeting-places for the Youth Associations.

Games and athletics are very popular among the Jewish youth of Palestine. Pathfinders, hiking societies, and sports clubs are numerous. The children growing up in the agricultural settlements reach a specially good standard, their parents paying much attention to their physical development.

VI. DISRUPTIVE FORCES IN JEWRY

CHAPTER XVII

ASSIMILATION AND ITS EFFECTS

(1) Nature of Assimilation

The most important process in the social life of the Jews since the eighteenth century has been the weakening of their ethnic homogeneity and of their sense of unity, and their assimilation to the economic and cultural life of their non-Jewish surroundings. Assimilation advanced with the changes which occurred in the economic life of the European nations. The system of guilds was replaced by one of free competition, which reproduced certain features of Jewish economy—the Jew ceased to be an alien in the economic system of the country and entered it as a full member. This was followed by the legal emancipation of the Jews, and this in turn by a breakdown of their cultural isolation. They renounced the Jewish tradition, which had been handed on from generation to generation by Jewish parents and the Jewish schools. Each subsequent generation increasingly tended to assume the traditions of its non-Jewish surroundings and to take them for the rule of its own actions. They adopted the vernacular and thereby gained access to its literature. Breaches appeared in the fivefold wall of isolation—consisting of a separate economy, legal status, language, education, and religion—which crumbled or even collapsed. The process started in Western and Central much earlier than in Eastern Europe, where its effects are therefore less apparent. But nowhere did the Jews remain altogether unaffected by assimilation; even in Oriental countries traces are by now visible.

Assimilation is no new phenomenon in Jewish history. It

occurred whenever the Jews lived as equals in the midst of a high civilization based on science and philosophy rather than on religion. Thus in the Hellenistic and Hispano-Arabic periods the Jews turned from their own to a foreign civilization, as they do at present. The complete disappearance of Jewish culture and religion in such periods of assimilation was prevented by the fact that, in the two thousand years of the Diaspora, they have never lived only in highly civilized countries, but invariably also in countries of a lower culture, where there was no temptation to become assimilated. When the Jews entered Central and Eastern Europe, they were pioneers who introduced the high culture of the Near East into backward countries. As a result of the development of science and art during the Renaissance and Reformation they were outdistanced by the non-Jews of Southern and Western Europe, but maintained their cultural superiority in Eastern Europe, which had only a minor share in the intellectual development of the West. The wide ramification of the Jews across many countries on different cultural levels has preserved the life of the main stem of Jewry, which, while branches died, has continually brought forth new shoots.

In the past the cohesion of the Jews was furthered by certain economic circumstances. Up to the thirteenth century trade with the East was almost entirely in their hands, and was built up on the close relations and confidence which existed between the Oriental and the Western Jews. After they had been ousted from that trade they found a new economic basis in finance; the rules of Canon Law against interest on loans did not apply to them, and they developed the international exchange business, facilitated by the inter-relations of the Jews in different countries. In Poland, the kings granted them important economic privileges. In many ways their position resembled that of Europeans in the Moslem States of North Africa or in China during the nineteenth century, more especially in that they were not sub-

ject to the laws of the country but enjoyed a kind of legal exterritoriality.

The protection afforded by lower standards of civilization among their neighbours, and by economic privileges, has practically disappeared because a large number of Jews have now moved to countries on a high cultural and economic level, and even in the backward countries the level is improving. The "Reservations" within which Jewish culture and religion were hitherto preserved are continually shrinking in size, while the front open to attack by outside influences is extending.

The connexion between individuals and a community is not immutable or indissoluble. If the Jew migrates to a new country, comes into economic and cultural contact with its civilization, learns its language, and lives free from legal restrictions, in the second or, at the latest, in the third or fourth generation he will abandon his distinctive Jewish culture and be assimilated to his new surroundings. Consciously or unconsciously, of his own free choice or by the force of circumstances, he changes his nationality. Such assimilation is a natural process which only a small number can resist. In the case of a migration which in itself marks a break in the life of the individual, assimilation takes place as a natural and necessary consequence of that break. Where assimilation occurs without change of country, but as a result of a change in the legal and economic status, it lacks this external justification, and appears as a voluntary act induced by economic considerations. Still, even here the personal inclination is only a minute cog in an immense machine. The most important tie with a nation, the adoption of its language, is determined in early childhood when there can be no question of inclination or intention. With the adoption of the foreign tongue the essential part of assimilation is accomplished, because language tends to be a decisive factor in education and in the general cultural development.

If thus assimilation is not the voluntary act of the individual, but a social mass phenomenon of almost inherent necessity, it cannot be judged by the rules of individual morality and described as disloyalty or opportunism, nor can it be counteracted by argument. Whenever the Jews of the Diaspora were not confined to the ghetto, but were able to mix freely with culturally higher neighbours, they always tried to adapt themselves to these. In the strata of Jewish society particularly exposed to external influences assimilation often resulted even in the abandonment of Jewish religion. Thus assimilation is not a new phenomenon, except that to-day the external influences are stronger than ever before, and that assimilation has penetrated from the periphery right into the centre.

(2) Decline of the Jewish Religion

The influence of Jewish religion on the life of the Jews is now incomparably weaker than in former times. "Enlightenment", beginning in France in the second half of the eighteenth century, spread to the educated classes of the rest of Europe. It affected the Jews of the large cities, more especially of Berlin, which became for them the centre of a new education and where many believed themselves bound to complete their entry into European civilization by conversion to Christianity.

Not everywhere was the impact of enlightenment as strong as among the Jews of Berlin, and it took usually three or four generations to make the Jews give up their religion entirely. The process was gradual, leading from the old Jewish orthodoxy to a more lax observance of ritual in the first generation, to the elimination of religion from daily life and its relegation to Sabbath and Feast Days in the second, to religious indifference remembering only the High Holidays in the third generation, in which, however,

conversions occasionally occur; and these become quite common in the fourth generation.

The orthodox Jew of former days remembered the Almighty at every step. Religion was closely entwined with his everyday life and held sway over him through ceaseless ceremonies, prayers, and benedictions. Almost every act was first consecrated by some kind of ceremonial. While modern religion is regarded rather in the light of an adjunct to daily life and as something outside its sphere, in those days it occupied the centre and permeated the whole—morals, family life, hygiene, household, food, profession, sexual intercourse, education, and clothing. These matters are withdrawn from the influence of religion to some extent in the first generation of enlightenment, wholly in the succeeding two. Thus variations in the spiritual and external life of the Jews have replaced uniformity. An immense distance separates the orthodox Jew with his religious fervour from the Jew of the third or fourth generation of enlightenment, who is apt to look upon religion as a superfluous remnant from former days and treat it with indifference or even distaste.

The weakening of the religious ties had a disastrous influence on the consciousness of community among the Jews, for it was religion in its traditional form which had kept them together. All through the Middle Ages and right into the nineteenth century religion distinguished them from their Christian neighbours even more than language. To non-Jews the criterion of the Jew was his religion, and to him a Jew remained a Jew even when he adopted the vernacular, but not if he became a Christian. With this step he changed his identity and no longer belonged to Jewry. In fact, even now Jewish religion is so closely interwoven with Jewish tradition and civilization that it cannot be renounced without simultaneously renouncing everything that is Jewish. The change of religion usually leads in the following generations to intermarriage with non-Jews, and thus even

the racial connexion is severed. In Germany, however, the Nazi Government decreed in 1933 that for purposes of the legal restrictions imposed on the Jews, Christians who had even only one Jewish grandparent should be included among them.

Jewish religion has suffered a severe blow in Soviet Russia. Here indifference to, or renunciation of, religion is not so much the result of assimilation, but rather of the war waged by the Soviet Government against all religions under the slogan "Religion is opium for the people". The Government has succeeded in alienating the majority of Jewish youth from the Jewish religion. The older generation still tends to adhere to its creed, but in view of the hostility shown to religion by the governing classes, they cannot act and their religion is doomed. Thus in the country whose Jews twenty years ago formed a solid bulwark of Judaism, the Jewish religion is now approaching destruction.

(3) Weakening of the Links of Common Descent and Fate

In the eighteenth century the consciousness of a common descent and fate was strongly developed among the Ashkenazic Jews. Their relatively small numbers, their concentration in one country (Poland), and the fact that they married only among themselves, made them into one big cousinship. This was specially true of the well-to-do class. In the eighteenth century almost all the well-known Jewish families in Poland had common ancestors three or four generations back, and this consanguinity resulted in a strengthening of their sense of unity. Persecuted and without civic rights, they were all fellow-sufferers; and a common responsibility rested on them, as the transgression of a single Jew was liable to be visited on the whole community.

The Jewish consciousness of a common descent has now weakened. The number of Jews has greatly increased during the past century and there is less inbreeding. Distributed over many countries, the Jews no longer form a single group for purposes of intermarriage; a number of groups have arisen, to some extent closed against each other, and the feeling of unity resulting from consanguinity is being lost. Lastly, marriages between Jews and non-Jews are now common in countries on a high level of culture, and connect the Jews racially with their non-Jewish neighbours, while accentuating the difference between the Jews of countries where mixed marriages are common and of those countries where they are as yet rare. Also the community of fate has lost much of its former meaning, the Jews now living under widely different conditions. Oppression, in its extreme form, which in the past bound the Jews together, hardly exists any longer. But the outburst in Germany, in the spring of 1933, of an unbridled hatred against the Jews and the organized economic war against them under the Nazi régime showed in a glaring manner that their position had remained insecure even in a country where they had enjoyed legal equality for close on a century.

(4) Loosening of Family Ties

The distinguishing features of the traditional Jewish family life were chastity of man and woman before marriage, matrimonial fidelity on both sides, appreciation of large families, respect of children for their parents, and the boundless love and devotion of parents for their children. Women took no part in public life, but attended to their domestic duties or assisted their husbands in their work. Daughters remained in their parental home till they married, which they usually did before the age of twenty. The husband's great authority over his wife and children was based

on tradition, not on force. This firmly established family life suffered severely when the children came to receive an education different from that of their parents, and when women began to leave their homes to take their place in economic life. Chastity and matrimonial fidelity have come to be less strictly observed and birth control is widely practised. The family interest no longer dominates to the same extent the relations between parents and children, who now follow their own interests and are less willing to sacrifice themselves for the family; in Western and Central Europe, Jewish children now go their own ways, not heeding the precepts of their parents. Jewish family life has become very similar to that of the non-Jews in the same class of society.

(5) Economic Adaptation of the Jews to their Surroundings

Before the Emancipation the Jews in Europe lived under a different law than the citizens of the country. They were aliens whose legal position depended on the rights and privileges granted them by the rulers. In Poland, under a charter granted to the Jewish communities in 1551, the Jews were subject to their own jurisdiction, exercised by the *kahalim* (communities) according to Jewish Law.

To-day the separate legal status of the Jews no longer exists in civilized countries, and their own Courts have almost entirely disappeared. The Beth Din, or Jewish Court, which formerly existed in almost every Jewish community under the chairmanship of the Rabbi and dispensed justice according to Jewish Law in civil and minor criminal cases, has lost all secular power in Western and Central Europe. In Eastern Europe and the Near East, the Jewish Courts have been either entirely suppressed by the authorities, or else continue an attenuated existence as courts of arbitration or for family matters (divorce, etc.). Formerly it was

regarded as a sin for one Jew to cite another to a secular court; to-day the practice is almost universal. No trace is left of the communal jurisdiction over its members, and the Jewish community, though acknowledged by law in many countries, is now nothing more than a voluntary association from which members are free to withdraw.

The Jews, in their economic structure, still differ from the non-Jews in regard to their professional stratification, but the difference is merely quantitative. The former qualitative distinctions—resulting, *e.g.*, from their exemption from the Canon Law in the matter of interest on loans, and the restrictions or privileges affecting them in certain trades—have by now disappeared. The premium on brain-work, in which the Jews on the European continent were formerly ahead of the non-Jews, has been severely reduced; higher education has become more generally accessible, and large numbers of non-Jews have proved willing and capable to do the work. On the other hand, the economic life of the non-Jews has differed in the past fifty years from that of the Jews in that many non-Jews have held administrative positions under the governments, municipalities, and trustified organizations, while the Jews have remained in the sphere of individual business and free competition to which they owed their rise since the beginning of the capitalist era.[1]

(6) Differentiation within Jewry

The centrifugal forces are strongest wherever the Jews live isolated or in small groups and are therefore exposed on all sides to assimilation; where they live in large communities they are able to satisfy their cultural needs in their own society and come less into contact with non-Jewish surroundings. Thus the Jews on the East Side of New York

[1] See A. Marcus, *Die wirtschaftliche Krise der deutschen Juden*, p. 143 and ff. (Berlin, 1931).

retain their Jewishness far longer than in American provincial towns with a small Jewish population. Assimilation has produced several strata among the Jews, which culturally differ in two ways—by the degree to which they still adhere to the Jewish language and tradition, and the character of the non-Jewish civilization which they absorb from their non-Jewish surroundings, and which is naturally different in the various countries. On this basis more than a dozen Jewish groups with different culture can be distinguished. But here only the main groups are mentioned:

1. The orthodox Jews who speak Yiddish and receive an exclusively Jewish education—such as are to be found in Polish villages and small townships.

2. Jews who speak both Yiddish and the vernacular, and receive their education in both cultures—*e.g.* the Jews in Polish towns educated in Polish elementary schools, or Jews from Eastern Europe who have emigrated to America, or to Western or Central Europe.

3. Jews who speak the language of their country, know very little Hebrew or Yiddish, and whose acquaintance with the Jewish tradition is slight; to this category belong graduates of higher schools in Eastern Europe, and the children of East European emigrants; likewise the Jews of Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and those in the small German provincial towns.

4. Jews who have no longer any knowledge whatever of the Jewish languages and tradition, and who in culture are hardly distinguishable from their non-Jewish neighbours; *e.g.* Jews of families long settled in the large cities of France, England, Denmark, and Germany.

Marked differences have also developed in the social position of various groups of Jews. Even in former centuries there were among the Jews rich and poor, but the condition of all alike was uncertain; the rich Jew of to-day was the poor of to-morrow, and *vice versa*. The sharp class distinctions which existed among the non-Jews were up to the nine-

teenth century entirely unknown among the Jews. The only "class" that was especially esteemed was that of the Talmudic scholars, and its ranks were always open to talent. The former unstable or amorphous social structure of the Jews has now been superseded by a fairly stable stratification into various, culturally or economically distinctive, groups and classes.

In countries which have received many immigrants, there is a marked difference between the long-resident Jews who have acquired wealth and adopted the culture of the country, and the recent immigrants from Eastern Europe. In many large German towns before 1933 this division governed the internal life of the Jewish communities, although the newcomers gradually rose into the richer classes. Moreover, there is the further cleavage between the Jews who wish for complete assimilation to the Germans and the Zionists who are national Jews. In France and England there is little contact between the old-established Jews and the recent immigrants—they live in different cultural spheres. In the United States there was a marked contrast between the rich and completely Americanized "German Jews" and the immigrants from Eastern Europe, though in recent years there has been a certain degree of social approximation between them, restrictions on immigration having hastened the Americanization and the economic rise of the immigrants.

In Eastern Europe the growth of a Jewish working class has produced party divisions among the Jews. Formerly, the aim of them all was *bourgeois*—to acquire wealth. To this the Jewish-Socialist "Bund", founded in 1897, has opposed a new proletarian ideal. In Poland, where there are several hundred thousand proletarians (workmen and small artisans), the "Bund" still forms a strong party, fighting against employers in general, and the Jewish employers in particular. They demand cultural autonomy and the use of Yiddish in schools, but are opposed to the

Zionists, who, as a political party, represent a large part of the Jewish middle classes in the Polish Diet. There is, moreover, in Poland the "Poale Zion", a party founded in 1902 in the old Russia and which in its programme combines Socialism with the demand for a resettlement of Palestine by the Jews. Further, there are the less numerous *bourgeois* "Folkists" who demand cultural autonomy and the preservation of Yiddish; middle-class circles which favour assimilation and are opposed to Orthodoxy, Socialism, and Zionism; and lastly groups such as the Agudas Yisroël, strictly orthodox in religion and *petit-bourgeois* in social outlook. Party divisions are as marked among the Jews as among the non-Jews.

In Roumania the Liberal "Association of Roumanian Jews" and the "Jewish Party" (leaning towards Zionism) oppose each other.

In Soviet Russia no *bourgeois* parties are tolerated, and all political activities must have the Communist programme for their basis. Still, there is a strong though latent antagonism between the Jewish Communists, chiefly recruited from among youth, and the older generation which still retains to some extent its former *bourgeois* outlook. The "Jevsekzia", a Government department (dissolved in 1930) which dealt with Jewish affairs and was composed of Jewish officials, did all it could to extirpate this *bourgeois* outlook and the surviving religious feeling, expressed, *e.g.*, in the celebrating of Jewish Feasts. Here the Jew was the Jew's worst enemy.

In the United States class consciousness among the hundreds of thousands of Jewish workmen is less highly developed than in Eastern Europe, for their chances are better of rising in the social scale. Still, even there a large proportion of the Jewish workmen is organized in Socialist trade unions which fight against the employers (mainly Jews) in their own branches of trade, and which are united in one big "Labour Combine".

While formerly all Jews, whether rich or poor, were united

by the common bond of national consciousness, modern economic and cultural differentiation has gone far to destroy it. Jews stand divided in separate camps, and fight each other with a bitterness previously unknown in Jewry except in religious matters.

The progressive decay of the Jewish ethnic unity is most evident in the changes which have supervened in respect of language, education, mixed marriages, and baptism. In the following chapters this process of assimilation will be traced in its various phases.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE BREAKING UP OF THE UNITY OF LANGUAGE

(1) CHANGES OF LANGUAGE IN THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS

THE Jews, in the course of their history, have several times changed their language. At the time of the downfall of the Jewish State Hebrew was already used as a written language only. For daily intercourse the Jews had adopted Aramaic in Palestine and Western Asia, Greek in Egypt, and Latin in the European countries. Aramaic and Greek were retained by the Jews right up to the time of the victorious advance of Islam in the seventh and eighth centuries, when they were gradually replaced by Arabic. In the tenth century Arabic was the language of the Jews in Asia, Africa, and Spain. The greatest Jewish scholar of the period, Maimonides, wrote chiefly in Arabic. In other European countries the Jews adopted the Romanic tongues which had evolved from Latin in Gaul, Italy, and Castile. In the Byzantine Empire alone Greek was retained by them till the fifteenth century, when, under the influence of the Jewish immigrants from Spain, it was replaced by Spanish. When in the tenth century the Jews penetrated into Southern and Central Germany, they adopted German, while those coming from Byzantium into Eastern Europe (Kiev) adopted the Slav tongues. But whereas the language of their daily intercourse underwent repeated changes, Hebrew remained their written language. It was used in religious services and writings, but in Europe also the contemporary Jewish literature and all important documents were almost invariably written in Hebrew and, in the

Arabic-speaking countries, in Hebrew or Arabic. Hebrew was a kind of Esperanto for the Jews in their correspondence, and therefore of great value in international trade relations.

Compulsory education now renders possible a complete linguistic change as between two generations. In the past, however, the Jews, on migrating, would not suddenly and entirely give up their own language in favour of the vernacular, but gradually interspersed it with words from the language of the new country. This led to the formation of jargons influenced both in their vocabulary and grammar by both tongues. Examples of such jargons in ancient times are Jew-Aramaic and Jew-Greek, in the Middle Ages Jew-Italian, Jew-French, and Jew-Arabic. At the time of Arab supremacy in Spain, Jew-Arabic was written in Hebrew script and was the medium of a rich literature, though at the same time the Jews also wrote pure Arabic in its own script. Other jargons still survive in Jew-Persian and Jew-Tartar spoken by small groups of Jews, but chiefly in Spaniole (also called Sephardic or Ladino) and in Jew-German or Yiddish.

(2) Rise of Jewish Languages

The Yiddish language was formed in Southern and Central Germany between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. Up to the fourteenth century, in spite of frequent local persecutions, the general social and economic position of the Jews was not bad, and they adopted the Middle High German current among the non-Jews of Southern and Central Germany, embodying in it an admixture of Hebrew words. This language they retained after they had been segregated in their ghettos (in the fourteenth century). They also carried it to Poland, to which country they began to migrate in large numbers in the thirteenth century. To

the German nobles, burghers, and peasants, who spread eastwards about the same time, these Eastern territories were a "colonial domain", as, later on, America was to the Spaniards, Portuguese, and Dutch. The German language of the "colonizers" became their hallmark, and the immigrant Jews, too, tenaciously continued to use it. Even the Jews who had come from Byzantium to Southern Russia and had adopted the Slav languages long before the Jewish mass immigration from Germany, now gave them up for Yiddish. Well into the nineteenth century Yiddish was the common language of the Jews in the late Polish territories annexed by Russia and Austria at the Partitions. Nineteenth-century Yiddish was not, however, identical with the Jew-German spoken by the Jewish immigrants in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—by continual adaptation to the special needs of the Jews it evolved into an idiom permeated by the Jewish mentality.

The growth of Yiddish has a parallel in the evolution of Spaniole, or Sephardic, which is still spoken by the descendants of the Jews expelled from Spain, and is a form of fifteenth-century Castilian intermixed with Hebrew words. It was usually printed in Hebrew characters, but in Italy and Holland also in Latin letters. While the Spanish Jews settled in Italy and France gradually gave up Spanish in favour of the language of the country, those who went to the Balkans retained it because, like German in Poland, it was a hallmark distinguishing them as "Westerners". In 1925 Spaniole was still the mother tongue of 41,563 (90 per cent) of the 46,431 Jews inhabiting Bulgaria, while at the Turkish census of 1927, 68,900 (84·1 per cent) of a total of 81,872 Jews declared "Yahudie" (*i.e.* Spaniole) their mother tongue.

The consolidation of the Jewish nationality in Eastern Europe between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries was only possible because the Jews tenaciously retained Yiddish as their language, and jealously guarded against the

intrusion of any other tongue. Even Hebrew was banned from daily intercourse and only used for religious services and literature, and other important matters such as documents and trade agreements. The study of a foreign language, or even acquaintance with script other than Hebrew, was prohibited. The Jews only learned the language of the country when it was absolutely required for their profession. Till the end of the eighteenth century Yiddish was the language of all the European Jews apart from the small communities of Sephardim in France, England, Holland, and Italy. Only in exceptional cases had the Ashkenazic Jews in Holland, Southern and Central Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary adopted the vernacular.

(3) The Decline of Yiddish

The first blow was struck at the supremacy of Yiddish when, at the end of the eighteenth century, Polish territories passed under Prussian dominion. The higher standards of civilization and compulsory education, carried on in German, made the Jews rapidly adopt the use of pure German in place of Yiddish. In Western and Central Germany this linguistic change occurred during the first thirty years of the nineteenth century, in Eastern Germany (Posnania) several decades later, and Yiddish entirely disappeared from daily intercourse. Only a few Hebrew words remained in use, and even the number of these has steadily decreased.

Similar changes supervened in France, Holland, England, Italy, and the Magyar parts of Hungary, where in the nineteenth century, or in some cases even earlier, the Jews gave up Yiddish or Spaniole in favour of the language of the country. But within the great belt of East European Jewry Yiddish maintained itself. At the Russian census of 1897, 96·9 per cent of the Jews (98 per cent within the Pale

TABLE XVIII

The Languages of the Jews

Date.	Syria and Palestine.	Babylon.	Northern Africa, including Egypt.	Spain.	Italy, France, Germany, England, Holland.	Poland, Lithuania.	Russia.	N. America, S. Africa.	S. America.
B.C.									
1000	Hebrew	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
500	Hebrew and Aramaic	Aramaic	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
A.D.									
1	Aramaic	Aramaic	Greek	..	..	..	..	..	..
500	Aramaic	Aramaic	Greek	Latin	Local languages	..	..	..	..
1000	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic and Spanish (or Portuguese)	Local languages	German	Russian and other Slav languages	..	..
1500	Arabic	Arabic	Arabic	Spanish (also in Turkey after expulsion from Spain)	Yiddish and local languages	German (Yiddish)	Russian	..	..
1800	Arabic and Spaniole	Arabic	Arabic	..	Local languages and Yiddish	Yiddish	Yiddish	Spanish and English	Spanish and Portuguese
1900	Yiddish, Spaniole, Arabic	Arabic	Arabic and Spaniole	..	Local languages	Yiddish and local languages	Yiddish and local languages	Yiddish and English	Spanish and Yiddish
1930	Hebrew, Yiddish, Spaniole	Arabic	Arabic and Spaniole	..	Local languages (Yiddish spoken by new immigrants)	Yiddish and local languages	Yiddish and local languages	English and Yiddish	Yiddish, Spanish and Portuguese

of Settlement) declared Yiddish as their mother-tongue, and only 3·1 per cent Russian, Polish, German, etc. Since then, and more especially since the War, Yiddish has suffered a considerable decline. At the Russian census of 1926 it was spoken by only 76·1 per cent of the Jews in the Ukraine, and 90·1 in White Russia, while in Central Russia the percentage dropped from 80·4 in 1897 to 48·4 in 1926.

The progress of Russian is particularly marked among Jewish labour, while the lower middle class is slow to give up Yiddish. In the mining districts of the Ukraine, where there is a large Jewish working-class, in 1926 only 46·3 per cent of the Jews still spoke Yiddish, but in the rural province of Polesie the proportion was 89·9. The use of Yiddish still predominates with the older generation, while the younger is rapidly adopting the vernacular. The women participate in this linguistic development, in some cases even more than the men.

In Poland, where the language of daily intercourse is used for criterion of nationality, at the census of 1921, of the 2,771,949 persons professing the Jewish religion, 73·8 per cent were entered as Jews by nationality, and 25·5 as Poles. The re-establishment of an independent Poland and the heightened national consciousness of the people is producing among the Jews an increased tendency to turn from Yiddish to Polish. This tendency is strongest in purely Polish regions where the Jews face a solid mass of Polish-speaking people, and weaker in linguistically mixed regions, *i.e.* in the White-Russian or Ukrainian territories.

In Hungary Yiddish was used by the Jews up to the middle of the nineteenth century, but has since disappeared; at the census of 1920, 95·2 per cent of the Jews declared Magyar as their mother tongue, 4 per cent German, and 0·8 per cent other languages.

Among the East European immigrants to Western

Europe, America and other non-European countries, Yiddish is still retained, at any rate in the first generation, though a large number of English words are introduced, so that it is growing into a dialect different from the Polish or Lithuanian Yiddish. The second generation speak both Yiddish and the language of the country, while the third no longer know Yiddish. This process extends over three generations, as the immigrants themselves—the first generation—can only speak Yiddish with their children born in the new country, the second generation. But in the schools, which the children attend, they learn English, which becomes their language. They therefore speak only English with their children—the third generation—so that in this all knowledge of Yiddish is lost. According to the official census, Yiddish was declared as mother tongue by—

1,093,000	= 32·1	per cent of the	3,400,000	Jews in	1920.
1,223,000	= 27·8	,, ,,	4,400,000	,,	1930.

Thus, although the number of Yiddish-speaking Jews has increased owing to immigration, the percentage they form in the total number has fallen. Thirty years ago the shop-signs on the East Side of New York were chiefly in Yiddish, but during recent years they have been increasingly replaced by English.

Similarly since the War and the rise of Turkish nationalism, Spaniole has lost ground among the Sephardic Jews of Turkey, who have begun to learn Turkish.

In recent years several institutes have been founded for the scientific study of Yiddish; the Chair for Jewish Culture in the Pan-Ukrainian Academy of Kiev founded in 1926, and the Jewish Department in the Institute for White Russian Culture at Minsk, are supported by the State, while the Jewish Scientific Institute at Vilna was founded in 1925 by private initiative. It comprises four sections, one of which deals with Yiddish philology.

(4) The Revival of Hebrew in Palestine

In Palestine as elsewhere Hebrew entirely disappeared as a means of daily intercourse two thousand years ago. Only after 1882, when the Palestine ideal arose, did young Russian Jewish immigrants endeavour to re-establish Hebrew in Palestine as the common language in place of European tongues. Much was done in this direction by Elieser ben Yehuda of Jerusalem, who died in 1922; he worked fanatically for the discarding of foreign languages and the return to Hebrew. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the Khoveve Zion founded the first schools in Palestine in which instruction was given in Hebrew. Since then Hebrew has been adopted in almost all Jewish schools, more especially since 1913, when the Zionist Organization took charge of education. In this way the Jewish youth of Palestine, formerly divided into more than a dozen groups each with a different language (Yiddish, Arabic, Spaniole, German, French, English, Persian, Georgian, etc.), has once more received a common language which acts as bond of union between them. At the census of 1922, Hebrew was declared by 80,396 Jews (95·9 per cent of the total) as their common language, and by 165,488 (94·8 per cent) in 1931.

The Palestine Constitution recognizes Hebrew beside English and Arabic as an official language of the country. Jews may use it in their relations with the authorities and may demand that official communications be likewise made in it. Similarly Hebrew has been introduced for official inscriptions on public buildings, coins, postage stamps, side by side with English and Arabic.

Outside Palestine Hebrew is hardly used for common intercourse. In Western and Central Europe many Jews have no longer any knowledge of Hebrew, while with others it is confined to the reading and superficial understanding of Hebrew prayers. In Eastern Europe the majority of

Jews, especially men, can read, write, and understand Hebrew; but only a small proportion of young people, those educated in Hebrew schools, can speak it. It is doubtful whether all those who, at the Polish census of 1931, declared Hebrew as their mother tongue, did actually use it in daily life. Probably they merely meant thereby to signify their Jewish nationality.[1] Among the Oriental Jews of North Africa and Western Asia many know sufficient Hebrew to make themselves understood, though they chiefly use it as a written language only.

(5) Incidence of Various Languages among the Jews

Although the number of Jews speaking Yiddish fell from 7,000,000 in 1900 to 6,800,000 in 1930, or from 60·6 to 42·4 per cent of the Jews, Yiddish still retains the first place among the languages spoken by them.

English comes next. Fifty years ago there were barely 100,000 Jews speaking English, while by 1900 their number had increased to 1,100,000, and by 1930 to 3,700,000; English had thus become the language of 23·3 per cent of the Jews. Moreover some 1,500,000 Jews, who still use Yiddish, live in English-speaking countries, and will change over to English in the next generation.

Polish, which is spoken by 1,000,000 Jews and occupies the third place, is making rapid progress at the expense of Yiddish, because, under compulsory education in Poland, children give up Yiddish as their language.

[1] The Polish Government stated in reply to a question by the Jewish members of the Seym, in October 1931, that, for purposes of the census, everyone was at liberty to declare as his mother tongue a language which he rarely used, but for which he had a preference; in that sense a declaration of the mother tongue practically amounted to a declaration of nationality.

German comes fourth, with 900,000 German-speaking Jews. By the separation of Alsace-Lorraine and the Prussian Eastern provinces from Germany, and by the increased use of local languages in territories formerly belonging to Austria-Hungary (Czechoslovakia, Bukovina, etc.), between 1900 and 1930 the number of German-speaking Jews has decreased by 350,000. Russian is spoken by only 800,000 Jews, Arabic (in North Africa and Western Asia) and Turkish by 600,000, Magyar by 500,000, and Spaniole, French, and Roumanian by 300,000 Jews each.

(6) Discarding of Jewish Names

With the Jewish language Jewish names were gradually discarded. Frequently the name of a Jew sums up his history or that of his ancestors, relates their descent, profession, and wanderings. Up to the end of the eighteenth century there were few fixed family-names among the Ashkenazim. It was much rather the rule for a person to add his patronymic to his first name, both of which were usually taken from the Bible; for example: Moses ben Jacob means Moses son of Jacob—in English Moses Jacobs, or in German Moses Jacobsohn. Among the Oriental Jews the use of Biblical names in this form is still common. In order to avoid mistakes in the case of the inhabitants of large communities bearing the same name, the Ashkenazim adopted the custom of adding some special designation to their names. This mark was derived from the bearer's character, profession, domicile, or, in the case of new-comers, from their place of origin, and was then often passed on from father to children—thus Sandler (shoemaker), from the Hebrew *sandlar*, Goldschmidt (German for Goldsmith), etc.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the outlook of enlightened Christians, which eventually led to the emancipation of the Jews, aimed, in the widest sense, at

their naturalization and assimilation. This aim was served by the Jews adopting European clothing, language, education, and surnames.

TABLE XIX

Languages in Use among the Jews

Common Language.	Number of those speaking the Language:		Of every 100 Jews the Language was spoken by:	
	In 1900.	In 1930.	In 1900.	In 1930.
			%	%
Yiddish . . .	7,000,000	6,800,000	60·6	42·7
German . . .	1,250,000	900,000	10·8	5·7
English . . .	1,100,000	3,700,000	9·5	23·3
Magyar . . .	600,000	500,000	5·2	3·1
Russian . . .	100,000	800,000	0·9	5·0
Polish . . .	200,000	1,000,000	1·8	6·3
Other Slav tongues: Czech, Bulgarian, etc. . . .	100,000	250,000	0·9	1·6
Spaniole . . .	350,000	300,000	3·0	1·9
Spanish (Argentine) .	..	50,000	..	0·3
Turkish and Arabic .	250,000	600,000	2·2	3·8
French . . .	150,000	300,000	1·3	1·9
Hebrew . . .	20,000	165,000	..	1·0
Dutch . . .	110,000	125,000	0·9	0·8
Roumanian . .	..	300,000	..	1·9
Italian . . .	40,000	50,000	0·3	0·3
Other languages .	280,000	63,000	2·6	0·4
	11,550,000	15,903,000	100·0	100·0

In 1787 the Emperor Joseph II issued a proclamation ordering the Austrian Jews to adopt German surnames and Germanized first names. About the same time the French, Russian, and various German Governments issued similar regulations, partly also in order to simplify administrative work, such as the keeping of registers and lists of taxpayers. In Prussia, an Edict of 1812 declared all resident Jews

Prussian citizens, but demanded their acceptance of regular surnames within six months. The practice of the naming commission of the Austrian Government is notorious; towards the end of the eighteenth century it forced surnames on the Galician Jews and regarded it as a joke to choose for them the most ridiculous or contemptible names.

Under the influence of assimilation, the Jews of Western and Central Europe are now tending to discard Jewish or Jewish-sounding surnames. This is often done by a contraction of the original surname (Brahm for Abraham, Solmsen for Solomonson, Simmel for Samuel, etc.), or merely by a change of spelling, which is often done to simplify pronunciation when the bearer emigrates to another country. Surnames cannot, however, always be freely changed, because in most countries official permission has to be obtained, and this is only sparingly given. But where Jews have a free choice, *e.g.* in naming new-born infants, they have in Germany almost entirely discontinued the practice of choosing Biblical names, which was universal two or three generations ago, replacing them by others with similar initials, such as Moses by Moritz, Simon by Siegfried, Markus and Mordecai by Martin, Isaac by Isidor, etc. Many of these names have thus come to be almost Jewish names and are therefore avoided by Christians. In the United States the use of certain first names has become so common among the Jews (*e.g.* Irvin for Israel, Mortimer for Moses), that to-day they are almost more general among them than among Christians; and in recent times the assimilated Jews chiefly use such first names as have not even the same initial as the former Jewish names.

In contrast to this tendency of replacing Jewish by non-Jewish names, the Jews in Palestine are discarding names derived from European languages and adopting Hebrew names. Palestine law permits this change and legalizes it by publication in the official gazette.

(7) Effects of Changes of Language at the Present Time

Language is the most important mark of nationality and the chief means of creating and maintaining it. Apart from a small number of bilingual persons, everyone feels really at home in one language only. It is for him the medium for expressing his own thoughts and for the fullest comprehension of those of other people; it determines his sphere of intercourse and the literature he reads. It exercises a determining influence on the mentality of the child and the formation of its ideas; in a crystallized form the language hands on to it the mental work of many generations and is the starting-point of its own mental development. A language forms a common mental basis for all who speak it. Some strongly developed common interest is required for persons speaking different languages to understand each other in the same degree as do people speaking the same tongue even when the common interest is lacking. Without a common language there can be no lasting cultural community, and without cultural community there can be neither nations nor nationality.

The process of replacing Yiddish (and Spaniole) by the languages of the non-Jewish neighbours is therefore of extreme significance in the cultural development of the Jews. The adoption of the vernacular is the first and most important stage in assimilation. It breaks the age-long continuity of the Jewish tradition, and replaces it by foreign learning and an alien tradition. Jewish civilization, one-sided but whole, disappears and there opens a wide field of inquiry beset with doubt. The simple philosophy of the Jew, based on unconditional faith in God, is shaken and, though the new knowledge may enrich his mind, it lacks the completeness and security of his former conceptions. Change of language further causes children to be estranged

from their parents; not only in America and England, but to some extent even in Eastern Europe, Yiddish, which was the only language of the parents, is regarded by the children educated in the schools of the country as a jargon, and their contempt for it is extended to those who still speak it, and to the tradition handed down in it. The American Jew, who in his youth spoke Yiddish with his immigrant parents, having learned English at school and in his daily intercourse, will avoid speaking Yiddish, looking upon it as the mark of a lower social class.

Similarly in Eastern Europe the division of the Jewries of the late Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires between the many new States tends to impair the sense of unity among them. Previously the homogeneity of the six million Jews in Russia was strengthened by the uniformity of the laws and administration to which they were subject, of the educational system, the official language, etc. Their present division between various States gradually produces cultural and economic differences. Each of the newly created national States tries to impose on the Jews its own national civilization and language, these being taught in the schools; and the Jews cannot evade this influence, or at any rate the school-children now growing up will adopt the vernacular. The displacement of Yiddish by Western languages is destroying the common bond between the Jewries of Eastern Europe and their emigrants to Western Europe and America. The Ashkenazim will split up into a series of Jewries differing in culture and language and they will be estranged from each other, as even now the French Jews are from those of Eastern Europe.

CHAPTER XIX

DISPLACEMENT OF JEWISH BY SECULAR EDUCATION

(1) Decrease of Illiteracy

Up to the seventeenth century school education and literacy were the privilege of a comparatively small class consisting of the nobility and gentry, the clergy, the administrative officials, and urban business men. In this period the percentage of people who could read and write was far higher among the Jews than among their non-Jewish neighbours, because this knowledge was required in trade, especially with foreign countries, and in their religious practices. Still, in absolute figures the number of Jewish illiterates, especially women, was high. In Western and Central Europe and in America, thanks to compulsory education, illiterates, both Jewish and non-Jewish, have by now practically disappeared. But in Eastern Europe and the Near East, even now their numbers are considerable, though with the development of the educational systems they are steadily decreasing.

Proportion of Illiterates

Country.	Year.	Age.	Jews.	Christians.	Mohammedans.
			Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Ukraine	1926	5 years and above	30·0	56·6	..
Hungary	1920	6 ,, ,,	4·4	16·5	..
Egypt .	1927	5 ,, ,,	27·3	64·0	88·6
Palestine	1931	7 ,, ,,	13·9	42·3	85·6

Compulsory education brings the Jews increasingly within the orbit of European civilization. While illiterate, they

depend as a rule on oral tradition, and are entirely under its influence; this is why in the Middle Ages the Jewesses, most of whom were illiterate, were the most jealous guardians of the Jewish tradition. The capacity to read and write in the vernacular suddenly opens for the Jew the gates to non-Jewish thought and culture. But even those who read only Yiddish or Hebrew are brought through their newspapers into touch with modern civilization, which leads to comparison and change. The process is specially marked among girls; women hold a secondary place in the religious life of the orthodox Jews, who therefore in the past have paid much less attention to the education of girls. Now, for the same reason orthodox parents often try to keep their sons away from the non-Jewish elementary schools, but they have no such concern with regard to their daughters. Thus literacy in the vernacular is more common among girls than among the boys who in the *chayder* (Jewish school) learn only to write Yiddish, and the young Jewess in Eastern Europe is, on the whole, more "modern" than the young Jew. Attachment to tradition, which in all races is characteristic of women, with young Jewesses gives place to a growing tendency to assimilation.

(2) School Education

The schools in which the Jewish children receive their education are here classified according to the relative importance given to Jewish and to secular subjects of instruction:

I. *Jewish schools, i.e.* schools for Jewish children only:

(*a*) The *chayders* and *yeshivas* give instruction in Yiddish, in Jewish subjects only. In the "reformed" *chayder* the curriculum includes some elementary secular subjects (arithmetic, geography, etc.).

(*b*) Jewish elementary or secondary schools in which

instruction is in Yiddish or Hebrew, and the curriculum resembles that of the ordinary schools, but includes additional Jewish subjects (religious instruction, Jewish history and literature).

(*c*) Elementary or secondary schools for Jewish children, where Jewish teachers teach in the vernacular according to the curriculum of the ordinary schools, but where some hours a week are devoted to Jewish subjects.

II. *Non-Jewish schools, i.e.* the ordinary elementary and secondary schools in which the majority of teachers and pupils are non-Jews.

I. THE JEWISH SCHOOLS

(a) *The Chayder*

Till about the end of the eighteenth century the *chayder* was the only type of Jewish school in Eastern Europe, and even in Germany—the first Jewish Free School, with instruction in German, was founded in Berlin only in 1778. The *chayder* was a private school in which a teacher—sometimes with one or more assistants—taught boys aged 4 to 13. Instruction was limited to reading and writing in Yiddish and Hebrew, to the Bible, the Talmud, and other religious literature; of secular subjects elementary arithmetic alone was sometimes taught. At the age of 10 to 14, the *chayder*-boy could move up to the *yeshiva*, where he continued the study of the Talmud and practised dialectics.

Instruction in the *chayder* consisted in memorizing texts by means of mechanical repetition and learning by rote, a method which probably has been usual in the East since the earliest times, and still survives in Mohammedan schools. Only after the text, translated by the teacher from Hebrew into Yiddish, had been memorized by the pupil, was this instruction supplemented, mostly only in the

yeshiva, by an elucidation of the meaning of the text, by a collation of similar passages, and an explanation of contradictions. As the range of Hebrew literature is very wide, and extends to every province of life, the knowledge gained from it was extensive; but as the Talmud reproduces Oriental learning of about 500 A.D., and not always in its purest form, its teaching is extremely backward and is useless for practical or scientific purposes. The methods of the *chayder* and *yeshiva*, however, train the memory, and through analytical work on legal and religious texts stimulate the critical faculties of the pupil. But the most important result of the *chayder* is negative—the pupil learns nothing in it of the intellectual developments of the last thousand years, and his attention is riveted to the ancient religious literature; his outlook is that of an Oriental Jew at the beginning of the Middle Ages. The Jewish religion and its teachings alone are to him of enduring value, all other knowledge is unimportant or false. Such learning, however unsatisfactory, is apt to produce a man in complete harmony with himself. In contrast to the spiritual cleavage common in Jews with a modern education, the Jew trained in the *chayder* knows no doubts. His conceptions are clear and certain: God, Who created the world, governs it in His inscrutable wisdom; the righteous will receive his reward, the unjust, punishment; the Jews are the race originally chosen by God for transmitting His commandments to all peoples; the Messiah will come and lead the Jews back to Palestine; then the rule of righteousness will come on earth. The *chayder*, by teaching this faith to the exclusion of all modern knowledge, was a unique medium for continuing Jewish tradition, unchanged, from generation to generation, and for keeping the Jews together as a separate cultural unit.

The teaching in the *chayder* and the *yeshiva*, as carried on even now in Eastern Europe, takes up the whole day, and all the year with the exception of Sabbath and Feast days,

leaving the boys no time for physical exercise, games, or other recreation. Moreover, the schoolroom (usually the teacher's living-room) is, as a rule, unfit for the purpose. The neglect of hygiene in the *chayder* produces many weak, anaemic, nervous, under-developed and sickly children among the Jews of Eastern Europe.

Nor are these boys ever taught to appreciate the importance of external appearance. They neglect their own persons and clothing, and lack all aesthetic interests; intellectual training alone is of importance, nothing else matters.

In the towns "reformed" *chayders* have come into being, but the reforms have done little to reduce the number of hours of instruction, or to improve hygienic conditions; they consist mainly in the addition of certain secular subjects, such as reading and writing in the vernacular, arithmetic, and geography.

State control of education breaks the predominance of the *chayder*; minimum demands regarding its curriculum, the qualifications of the teachers, and hygiene in the school, have forced the *chayders* either to close down or so to modify their methods that only little remained of their original character. In Germany they disappeared completely about the middle of the nineteenth century, but they still survive in Poland; there, in 1929, according to the estimate of the "Tarbuth" Society,[1] 300,000 Jewish children attended the ordinary elementary schools, but nearly 100,000 the *chayders* and other Jewish schools. Similarly there are still many *chayders* in Lithuania, Latvia, Carpatho-Russia, and Slovakia, and also *yeshivas* in several Lithuanian towns (Telshe, Slobodka, Mir, Voloshin), in Carpatho-Russia, and in Slovakia (in Huste, Hunsdorf, Galanta, and Bratislava).

In Russia the continuance of *chayders* and *yeshivas* has been rendered impossible by the Soviet Government.

[1] In the report made to the 16th Zionist Congress (Warsaw, 5690/1929).

(b) *Jewish Secular Schools with Yiddish or Hebrew Language of Instruction*

The Jewish elementary and secondary schools have, to some extent, their origin in the *chayder*, but mark a stage towards its secularization. Their curriculum is, more or less, that of the ordinary elementary or secondary schools, but Jewish subjects are added, and the instruction is in Yiddish or Hebrew.

In POLAND, according to official statistics, there were, in the school year 1929–1930, 565 Jewish elementary schools (exclusive of the *chayders* which did not adopt the curriculum of an elementary school)—

179	with instruction in	Polish and Yiddish	with	13,911	pupils.
24	,,	,,	,, Hebrew	,,	2,879	,,
177	,,	,,	Yiddish	,,	19,117	,,
183	,,	,,	Hebrew	,,	20,656	,,
2	,,	,,	Yiddish and Hebrew	,,	92	,,
			Total .		56,655	,,

There were also several secondary schools where instruction was in Hebrew. All the Jewish schools were private schools; the Hebrew schools were supported by the "Tarbuth" Society,[1] and the Yiddish schools by the "Organization for Jewish Schools".

In several other countries with a considerable Jewish minority, the Jewish schools are in receipt of public grants. In LATVIA, for example, the municipalities where the Jewish children number at least 30 are obliged to set up Jewish elementary schools (Yiddish or Hebrew according to the preference of the majority of the parents). In the school year 1930–1931, 83·8 per cent of the Jewish children in the elementary schools in Latvia, and 63·8 in the secondary

[1] In 1933 the number of pupils in the Tarbuth schools in Poland was reported as 37,500, and in other countries (Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, and Bulgaria) as 32,500.

schools, attended Hebrew or Yiddish schools. In the elementary schools 7·3, and in the secondary schools 14·2 per cent of the pupils were Jews.

Similarly in LITHUANIA the Jewish elementary schools are supported by the State, though the Tarbuth Society contributes to their expenses; the secondary schools are private, but are under the control of the State, which contributes to their upkeep.

In CZECHOSLOVAKIA elementary schools with Hebrew as the language of instruction were to be found in Carpatho-Russia only, where in 1932–1933 they were attended by about 400 pupils.

In SOVIET RUSSIA, according to official data, during the school year 1926–1927, the schools were attended by 281,772 Jewish children—

	Total Number.	Of these in Yiddish Schools.	Per cent.
Infant schools and kindergartens	18,211	9,188	50·5
Schools with a 4-years course .	77,639	36,234	46·7
„ „ 7-years course .	185,922	66,508	35·8
Together . .	281,772	111,930	39·7

The proportion of Jewish children attending Yiddish schools is, however, only about 10 per cent in Central Russia, but about 45 per cent in the Ukraine and White Russia. Besides, there were some 100,000 Jewish children either in private schools or receiving no instruction. There is also a number of finishing schools, trade schools, and agricultural schools, with instruction in Yiddish, and, during the school year 1926–1927, they were attended by about 7000 students.

In PALESTINE, during the school year 1931–1932, the Jewish school-children numbered 35,228 (18,683 boys, 16,545 girls), including 5149 in kindergartens; they made 41·1 per cent of the 85,672 school-children of Palestine, where school-children formed 20·1 per cent of the Jewish,

and 5·9 of the non-Jewish population. School attendance of children aged 7 to 12 amounted—

With the Arabs to 32 per cent; 45 per cent for the boys, 17 per cent for the girls.
With the Jews to 88 per cent; 93 per cent for the boys, 84 per cent for the girls.

Of the 35,228 Jewish school-children, there attended—

	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
Jewish schools	18,402	16,032	34,434
Government schools . . .	21	48	69
Arab schools	1	..	1
Christian Missionary schools . .	259	465	724
	18,683	16,545	35,228

Thus 97·7 per cent of Jewish school-children in Palestine attended Jewish schools—a very much higher proportion than in any other country.

Of the 34,434 Jewish pupils in Jewish schools—

65·3 per cent attended Zionist schools.
8·8 per cent attended other schools with instruction in Hebrew.
13·8 per cent attended schools with instruction in Yiddish, Arabic, or Spaniole.
12·1 per cent attended schools with instruction in English or French.

But in all Jewish schools in Palestine, the Hebrew language and Jewish subjects are taught. In the Jewish schools in Palestine there were 1115 full-time teachers (including 425 women), and 556 part-time teachers (including 198 women).

(c) *Jewish Schools with Instruction in the Vernacular*

These Jewish schools approximately follow the curriculum of the ordinary elementary or secondary schools, with the addition of certain Jewish subjects. Allied to this group are about a hundred schools of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Oriental countries (mainly in Morocco, but also in Syria, Persia, Iraq) attended in 1927 by some 40,000

Jewish children, though in these schools the vernacular has to yield precedence to French. The Alliance maintains two training colleges for teachers (*écoles normales*) in Paris and Versailles.

In PRUSSIA, in 1931, of the 25,370 Jewish children in elementary schools, 68 per cent attended the ordinary schools, 16 per cent private Jewish schools, and 16 per cent Jewish communal schools; in 1886, the percentage attending Jewish communal schools still amounted to 37·4, and its decrease is largely due to the migration of the Jews from the small towns to the cities—the old schools were closed and, previous to 1933, few new communal Jewish schools were opened. Private Jewish elementary schools are usually preparatory schools.

In 1928–1929, in HUNGARY, 34·7 per cent of the Jewish pupils attended Jewish elementary schools, and in POLAND 17·8. In Lodz, in 1929, of the 21,414 Jewish children attending elementary schools only 577 attended Yiddish, and 199 Hebrew schools. But of the 4857 Jewish children in secondary schools, 2806 (59·8 per cent) attended Jewish schools. In 1929, 49·9 per cent of the pupils taking the matriculation certificate (*matura*) were Jews. In CZECHOSLOVAKIA, in 1932–1933, of 49,235 Jewish school-children, only 14·3 per cent attended Jewish schools, most of them with Slovak, Magyar, or German as language of instruction.

In CANADA the schools are run by the religious communities, and the Jews, like the Roman Catholics and Protestants, would be entitled to have their own schools paid for from public funds; so far they have made no use of this right, though there is now a movement in that direction.

In TURKEY, in 1930, there were 28 Jewish schools with 5746 Jewish pupils.

In EGYPT, in 1927–1928, 7168 Jews attended the Egyptian schools where the instruction is in Arabic, and 653 the foreign schools, many of which are Jewish (run by the

Jewish communities or the Alliance Israélite Universelle) and where the instruction is in French or some other European language.

In MOROCCO, in 1930, there were 10,527 Jewish children in Jewish schools with Arabic, French, or Spanish as their language of instruction; and a few thousand Jewish children in non-Jewish schools. The Jews formed 2·9 per cent of the population, and nearly 25 per cent among the school-children.

In TUNISIA, in 1930, the 11,711 native Jewish children formed 15·3 per cent among the school-children, while the percentage of Jews in the population was only 2·5. Among the Jewish school-children girls formed 49·8 per cent, among the non-Jews only 28·3. Of the Jewish school-children, 8827 attended public schools with Arabic for language of instruction, and 2884 private schools (2546 of them schools of the Alliance Universelle).

In ALGERIA, in 1929–1930, the Jews formed 1·6 per cent of the population, but 16·9 per cent of the children in kindergartens, 8 per cent in elementary schools, and 17·4 in secondary schools.

(d) *The Teaching Staff*

The majority of the teachers in the *chayders* are without proper training for their profession, and their qualifications are frequently poor; but to teach in the Jewish elementary or secondary schools, or to give Jewish religious instruction in non-Jewish schools, the teacher must have passed a training school and obtained a certificate. Apart from the training schools of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, there are four such schools in Poland (two Hebrew, one Yiddish, and one bilingual) with some 500 students in 1932–1933; one in Berlin and one at Cologne with some 50 students; the Israelite Preparatory College for Teachers in Budapest with some 100 students; the Union of Hebrew and Religious Classes in London, the Teachers' Institute of the Jewish

Theological Seminary in New York, and the Hebrew Teachers' College in Boston.

In SOVIET RUSSIA, in 1926–1927, there were seven Jewish training colleges for teachers, all in the Ukraine and White Russia, with 1077 students. These colleges train the teachers for the lower forms; for the upper forms they are trained in the Jewish sections of the Faculties of Education in the Universities of Odessa, Minsk, and Moscow, which in 1926–1927 numbered some 500 students. The language of instruction in these institutes is Yiddish.

II. NON-JEWISH SCHOOLS

(a) *Jews among the School-Children*

In the Jewish schools the children are in a Jewish atmosphere; they are taught in Yiddish or Hebrew, or at any rate Jewish subjects are included in the curriculum, and both teachers and pupils are Jews. In the ordinary schools of the country Jewish teachers and pupils form only a small minority, and the curriculum answers the needs and wishes of the majority. The greater the percentage of Jewish children attending such schools, the greater the distance which separates them from the traditional Jewish education and culture; this applies especially to secondary schools, which have a greater and more enduring influence on their pupils.

At the time of the legal Emancipation, or even earlier, the Jews obtained unrestricted admission to the ordinary elementary and secondary schools; it was withheld longest in Russia where, according to the Decree of 1887, the number of Jews in secondary schools and Universities was severely limited—

In the Pale of Settlement to 10 per cent of the non-Jewish pupils.
Outside the Pale of Settlement to 5 per cent of the non-Jewish pupils.
In Petersburg and Moscow to 3 per cent of the non-Jewish pupils.

This *numerus clausus* remained in force, hardly modified, till the overthrow of the Tsarist régime in 1917.

In all countries the attendance of Jews in secondary schools is proportionately stronger than that of non-Jews (see Table XX). In Prussia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary,

TABLE XX

Of every 100 school-children, there attended in—

	Prussia, 1921.		Czecho-slovakia, 1927–1928.		Hungary, 1928–1929.		Roumania, 1928–1929.	
	Jews.	Christians.	Jews.	Christians.	Jews.	Christians.	Jews.	Christians.
Elementary Schools .	39·5	90·3	70·7	92·7	56·7	85·1	76·2	91·1
Secondary Schools .	60·5	9·7	29·3	7·3	43·3	14·9	23·8	8·9
	Poland, 1925–1926.		Berlin, 1929.*		Budapest, 1928–1929.		Lodz, 1927–1928.	
	Jews.	Christians.	Jews.	Christians.	Jews.	Christians.	Jews.	Christians.
Elementary Schools .	87·3	93·1	51·4	76·3	50·8	61·0	81·5	87·3
Secondary Schools .	12·7	6·9	48·6	23·7	49·2	39·0	18·5	12·7

* Private schools are not included.

Roumania, and Poland, only 7–15 per cent of the non-Jewish children attend secondary schools, but 12·7 of the Jewish children in Poland, and 24–60 per cent in the other countries. This is partly due to the fact that the Jews live chiefly in towns, with better facilities for obtaining such an education. The difference between the attendance of Jews and non-Jews in the secondary schools in Berlin (before 1933), in

Budapest, and Lodz, was therefore smaller than in the other parts of the country.[1]

The proportion which pupils in secondary schools form among the Jewish school-children is a criterion of the financial circumstances of the Jews, and of their desire for a modern, non-Jewish education. They formed in—

Prussia . . .	60·5 per cent.
Budapest . .	49·2 ,,
Berlin . . .	48·6 ,,
Hungary . . .	43·3 ,,
Czechoslovakia . .	29·3 ,,
Roumania . .	23·8 ,,
Lodz . . .	18·5 ,,
Poland . . .	12·7 ,,

The percentage in Berlin was smaller than in Prussia, because the Berlin Jewish community maintains excellent elementary schools, attended by a large number of children. In Prussia, in 1931, of 17,000 Jews in secondary schools only 12 per cent attended Jewish schools, which were all private. In 1933, the German Government issued an order dealing with overcrowding of secondary schools and Universities and forbidding for the future the admission of Jews to them, while the percentage of those already attending them was to be reduced to 1·5 per cent of all students, or where this seemed impracticable for the time being, to 5 per cent. At the same time all scholarships granted to Jewish pupils were stopped, which has prevented many who were poor from continuing their studies.

(b) *Jews among the Teachers*

The Jews are under-represented on the teaching staffs of elementary and secondary schools. In Prussia, in 1921, only 0·3 per cent of the teachers in elementary schools (including

[1] In Prussia, in 1932, the percentage of Jews in secondary schools for boys was 3·1, for girls 5·1. The percentage was highest in Berlin (8·0 and 10·4), and lowest in Schleswig-Holstein (0·4 and 0·8).

Jewish schools) were Jews, 1·1 in secondary schools[1]); in Hungary, 2·8 per cent in elementary schools, 4·5 in secondary and higher schools; in Poland (1925–1926) 3 per cent in the ordinary elementary schools, 2·6 in the ordinary secondary schools, 21·5 in private secondary schools (including Jewish schools).

III. STRONG JEWISH ATTENDANCE AT THE UNIVERSITIES

A University education is a preparation for a future profession, and the concluding stage of a general education. East European Jews take it for granted that every "doctor" is estranged from Jewish tradition; for if the secular education in non-Jewish elementary schools undermines it, how much greater is bound to be the effect of a secondary and a University education. The more Jews enter the Universities, the greater is their estrangement from the old Jewish tradition.

Since the total or partial abolition of the *numerus clausus*, the number of Jewish students in the territories of the late Russian Empire has increased enormously. In 1914 there were in Russia only 5537 Jewish students (not including those studying abroad), but in 1927 the number of Jewish students in the territories formerly belonging to Russia reached some 33,000. In Soviet Russia, in proportion to their percentage of the population, the attendance of the Jews in the Universities is much stronger than of the non-Jews. Also in all the other countries their percentage among students is higher than in the total population (cf. Table XXI).

The proportion of Jews at the Universities is everywhere higher than at the Technical High Schools. The Jews still retain their traditional preference for scholarship, though

[1] Percentage for 1932: 0·8 in secondary schools for boys, 1·4 in those for girls. Since 1933 no Jews are being admitted as teachers in schools, or as students to colleges for teachers.

considerations of future employment contribute to the choice. The Faculties of Medicine and Law have both the largest number and the highest proportion of Jews.

Country or City.	Year.	Total Number of Jewish University Students.	Percentage which the Jews studying			
			Medicine		Jurisprudence	
			formed of the Jewish Students.	formed among the Medical Students.	formed of the Jewish Students.	formed among the Law Students.
Germany	1929/30	2,970	28·5	5·7	34·6	4·9
Vienna .	1929	2,110	40·3	32·7	25·5	17·7
Hungary	1930	1,350	28·6	12·5	45·3	10·6
Poland .	1928/29	7,159	9·9	18·9	43·0	26·0
Latvia .	1930/31	744	10·5	9·9	35·9	10·0
U.S.A. .	1918/19	14,837	..	16·4	..	21·6

The above figures for Germany relate to German Jews only, while those for Vienna include a large number of foreign Jews; those for Poland and Hungary are artificially reduced by restrictions which force many Jews from these countries to study abroad.

The number of Jews studying dentistry, political economy, philology, and chemistry was far lower than of those studying medicine and jurisprudence, while there were few or hardly any Jewish students of mining, metallurgy, geology, mineralogy, shipbuilding, forestry, etc. The choice of subjects by Jews does not depend on their personal inclinations or abilities; they have little chance of obtaining employment in the public services or in large undertakings, and therefore turn (or used to turn) to what are (or were) liberal professions (law and medicine).

Moreover, the Jewish students, in a higher degree than the non-Jewish, come from the poorer classes, and can only with difficulty obtain the necessary money from their parents or earn it themselves. They therefore must give preference to subjects which require a short course of study, or give an early opportunity for earning.

TABLE XXI

Attendance of Jews at Universities and High Schools of the University Type

Country or City.	Type of University.	Period.	Number of Jewish Students.		The Percentage of Jewish Students exceeds Percentage of Jews in the Population.
			Absolute No.	Per cent.	
Germany*	Universities	Winter Session, 1929–1930	2,970	3·4	3·7 times
	Technical High Schools	„	264	1·3	1·4 „
	Other High Schools	„	73	1·6	1·8 „
	Together	Winter Session, 1929–1930	3,307	2·9	3·2 times
Czecho-slovakia	Universities	Winter Session, 1927–1928	2,414	14·5	5·6 times
	Technical High Schools	„	1,314	12·2	4·7 „
	Other High Schools	„	50	2·2	0·8 „
	Together	Winter Session, 1927–1928	3,778	12·8	4·9 times
Vienna .	Universities	1928–1929	2,377	21·3	2·0 times
	Technical High School	„	328	10·7	1·0 „
	Other High Schools	„	239	9·6	0·9 „
	Together	1928–1929	2,944	..	..
Hungary	All Universities and High Schools	Winter Session, 1930	1,350	10·5	1·8 times
Poland .	All Universities and High Schools	Winter Session, 1929–1930	8,711	19·3	1·9 times
Soviet Russia	All Universities and High Schools	1926–1927	23,699	15·4	5·9 times
Latvia .	Universities	1930–1931	744	8·7	1·8 times
Lithuania	Universities	1926	756	31·4	4·1 times
U.S.A. .	Universities	1918–1919	14,837	9·7	3·2 times

* These figures refer to German students only.

The statistics of Soviet Russia do not distinguish Faculties, only the different types of Universities or Academies. Among these, in 1926–1927, the 23,699 Jewish students were distributed as follows:

		Per cent.		
In Universities	. .	6685 = 12·8	of all the	students.
,, Pedagogic Institutions	.	2369 = 16·0	,,	,,
,, Social-Economic Colleges		2662 = 26·8	,,	,,
,, Medical Colleges	. .	3485 = 30·4	,,	,,
,, Agricultural Colleges	.	1235 = 5·5	,,	,,
,, Technical Colleges	.	5935 = 16·3	,,	,,
,, Art Schools	. .	1328 = 19·4	,,	,,

The high percentage of Jews in the Technical Schools is remarkable. Colleges for Social Economy teach both political economy and law, and a growing number of Jews enter them because of the chances of employment for their graduates in the public economic organizations.

The figure of 14,837 Jewish students in the United States in Table XXI is based on an inquiry for 1918–1919. No later statistics are available, but undoubtedly the number has increased considerably, probably doubled. During the long period of prosperity many Jewish immigrants acquired the means to give their children a University education. Among the subjects chosen, besides medicine and law, dental surgery and pharmacology occupy an important place, because they require a relatively short course of study; and much attention is paid in the United States to the care of the teeth, while pharmacology attracts the Jews because of its close connexion with commerce.

The percentage of women students is higher among the Jews than among the non-Jews. In the German Universities, in 1929–1930, 28·9 per cent of the German-Jewish students were women, and only 15·9 among the German non-Jews. In Poland, in 1928–1929, the percentage of women among the Jewish students was 37·9, among the non-Jews 25·6; in Soviet Russia the percentage is even higher.

In 1928–1929, outside Soviet Russia, Vienna had of all the European Universities the greatest number of Jewish students (2377); Berlin, Bucharest, Jassy, Budapest, Lvov, Vilna, Cracow, Warsaw, and Prague had each over one thousand. Among the Universities with a large number of students from Eastern Europe, driven out by the *numerus clausus*, Vienna and Prague occupied the first place. In Vienna, in 1929, about one-third of the 3174 foreign students were Jews; in Prague the number of foreign Jewish students was estimated at 1500 for the winter session 1932–1933, of whom 900 came from Poland, and 300 from Roumania. In the German Universities (winter session 1929–1930) the number of foreign Jews was 1250, making 18 per cent of all foreign students. Also the Universities of Paris, Strasbourg, Brussels, Liège, London, Berne, Zurich, Bâle, Geneva, Lausanne, and lately also those of Italy, receive a certain number of Jewish students from Poland, Hungary, and Roumania, refused admission to their own Universities.

The total number of Jews in the world attending Universities or High Schools is estimated to-day at about 100,000, of which one-third are women; *i.e.* to every 10,000 Jews there are 62 students. Considering only the Jewish population of over eighteen years of age, which amounts to some ten millions, the figure rises from 6·2 to 10 per thousand. Assuming that the percentage remains constant, and that the course of study lasts on the average four years, forty years hence every tenth adult among the Jews, and every seventh man, will have had an academic education. This stamps the Jews with the character of "intellectuals", rivets them to the civilization of the country, and estranges them from Jewish tradition.

CHAPTER XX

MIXED MARRIAGES AND BAPTISMS

(1) Increase of Mixed Marriages

(a) *Legal Aspect*

Mixed marriages between Jews and non-Jews were frequent in the first thousand years of the Christian era, even though forbidden by Jewish Law; but as a result of repeated prohibitions by the Church Councils, they ceased entirely towards the end of the Middle Ages. Moreover, the social and religious gulf between Jews and Christians had become so wide that it alone sufficed to prevent mixed marriages. Yet the prohibition was continued in Canon Law, and as this was the marriage-law of the Christian States, in their laws as well. Mixed marriages were likewise forbidden by the religious laws obtaining in Mohammedan countries.

The first step towards the removal of these prohibitions was made by the French Revolution, which established the civil character of marriage and refused to regard a difference in religion as a hindrance to it. Still, a strong prejudice against mixed marriages continued both among Jews and Christians. Of the questions laid by Napoleon I before the Jewish Sanhedrin, none called forth such heated debates as the third: "May a Jew or a Jewess marry a Christian?" The enlightened French rabbis wished to answer it in the affirmative, the orthodox German (Alsatian) rabbis were for a flat negative. The solution eventually resorted to was that only marriage with Canaanites was directly forbidden, that rabbis might possibly refuse to solemnize marriages with Christians, but that the Jew or Jewess who entered such a marriage would suffer no further religious dis-

advantages. From France the recognition of mixed marriages gradually extended to Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Great Britain, the Scandinavian countries, and the United States, *i.e.* chiefly to Protestant countries. In Germany the Imperial Law of 1875 legalized mixed marriages in all the German States. In Hungary they have been allowed since 1895, and already before the War were likewise admitted in Roumania, Bulgaria, and Serbia. In Russia they were forbidden till 1917, and in the late Russian provinces of Poland are forbidden to this day, though permitted in Galicia. In Austria a mixed marriage can only take place in a roundabout way: either the Christian party to it has to leave the Church, or an official permit must be obtained, which, as a rule, is not difficult. In many Mohammedan countries mixed marriages are still forbidden.

(b) *Jewish and Christian Opinion on Mixed Marriages*

A difference in religion nearly everywhere acts to a certain extent as an impediment to marriage. The religious character of matrimony, which obtains in many countries, makes a mixed marriage appear "sinful". The clergy almost invariably refuse to solemnize such a marriage, and in many countries (*e.g.* in Austria) it can only take place as a civil ceremony in a registry office. Similarly orthodox Jewry regards mixed marriage as an offence against religion. The social barriers usually produced by difference in religion, so long as this remains a live force, form an impediment to mixed marriage possibly even greater than religious scruples, the religious community in such cases still constituting the framework of social intercourse. Thus even marriages between Catholics and Protestants are still relatively rare, likewise between Sephardic and Ashkenazic Jews.

Matrimony limited to co-religionists formed the strongest bond among the Jews, and made them into a homogeneous ethnic unit of a sharply marked, distinctive character which was able to show a unique power of resistance against the

forces of Christianity and Islam. Many assimilated Jews no longer practising their religion are still instinctively averse to mixed marriage, this disinclination being the last remnant of their national consciousness. They consider that, although they have dropped the Jewish ritual, they will remain Jews so long as they and their children intermarry with Jews, and that only a mixed marriage would finally separate them from their people. Indeed intermarriage marks the end of Judaism.

Mixed marriage is regarded as destructive of Judaism, even where the non-Jewish side adopts the Jewish religion, for it is understood, be it merely subconsciously, that Judaism is something more than a religion—a common descent and a common fate. Were it only a religious communion, assimilated Jews would actually have to welcome a mixed marriage which gains a proselyte for Judaism, but even among them this view is conspicuously absent.

(c) *Increase of Mixed Marriages*

The following figures concerning mixed marriages do not include cases where either side accepts the religion of the other previous to marriage, for the "mixed" in these tables refers to religion at the time of marriage. There is no record of the number of mixed marriages between Jew and non-Jew in the racial sense, where at that time both are of the same religion. On the other hand, a marriage between two persons both of Jewish race will appear as a "mixed marriage" if one of them is baptized and the other is not. Lastly, marriage between baptized Jews will count as a Christian, and not as a Jewish, marriage.

Table XXII illustrates the growth of mixed marriages in various countries and cities during the past fifty years. It shows their steady increase in Prussia, and especially in certain towns, where, previous to March 1933, they became extremely common. In Copenhagen among the long-settled Danish Jews mixed are more numerous than Jewish mar-

TABLE XXII

Mixed Marriages

Territory.	Year or Period.	To every 100 Jews entering Marriage, Mixed Marriages were contracted by		
		Jews.	Jewesses.	Together.
Germany . . .	1901–1904	8·48	7·41	7·95
	1910–1911	13·49	10·37	11·96
	1928	25·15	16·79	21·19
	1929	27·16	17·82	22·79
	1930	26·60	17·60	22·36
Prussia . . .	1875–1884	4·60	4·98	4·79
	1885–1889	8·29	7·33	7·81
	1905–1908	11·81	10·57	11·19
	1925	23·56	13·97	19·05
	1928	26·06	17·65	22·08
	1929	27·81	18·46	23·47
Berlin . . .	1876–1880	15·69	11·99	13·88
	1901–1904	17·89	12·02	15·06
	1925	30·53	17·90	24·75
	1926	29·19	18·63	24·52
	1929	35·31	21·95	29·21
Frankfort-on-Main .	1928	20·17	13·49	16·96
	1929	23·26	11·74	17·90
Hamburg . . .	1886–1890	16·50	9·30	13·10
	1906–1910	26·40	22·20	24·30
	1925	31·82	24·53	28·83
	1928	39·86	26·45	33·83
Bavaria . . .	1876–1880	1·54	2·08	1·82
	1901–1905	4·47	4·04	4·25
	1926–1927	16·90	9·52	13·36
Hungary . . .	1895–1899	2·68	2·73	2·70
	1907–1908	4·12	4·55	4·33
	1925	11·90	10·90	11·40
	1927	11·93	12·06	12·00
	1928	12·50	11·60	12·05
	1929	12·04	11·90	11·97
Budapest . . .	1896–1900	6·71	7·22	6·97
	1925	17·96	15·27	16·64
	1927	16·74	16·18	16·46
	1929	16·61	16·43	16·52

TABLE XXII (*Continued*)

MIXED MARRIAGES

Territory.	Year or Period.	To every 100 Jews entering Marriage, Mixed Marriages were contracted by		
		Jews.	Jewesses.	Together.
Vienna . . .	1926	12·68	11·71	12·20
	1927	12·16	9·93	11·06
	1928	12·83	10·06	11·47
	1929	13·86	12·02	12·95
Amsterdam . .	1899–1908	..	..	5·00
	1921–1925	12·66	9·56	11·14
	1926–1927	13·79	12·60	13·20
	1928–1930	17·03	12·49	14·83
Copenhagen . .	1880–1889	..	..	21·84
	1900–1905	..	..	31·76
Trieste . . .	1887–1890	..	..	14·30
	1900–1903	..	..	17·90
	1927	60·87	50·00	56·10
Galicia . . .	1929	1·02	0·64	0·83
Central Russia . .	1924–1926	20·68	12·47	16·77
White Russia . .	1924–1926	1·87	3·73	2·81
Ukraine . . .	1924–1926	4·19	4·90	4·55
Total European Russia	1924–1926	7·41	6·21	6·80
Latvia . . .	1925–1926	1·57	1·51	1·54
	1930	1·96	1·96	1·96

riages, and at Trieste their sudden increase between 1900 and 1927 illustrates the danger which the disappearance of the traditional barriers between Jews and non-Jews constitutes to the survival of Jewry in certain countries. Similarly the old Jewish community at Livorno (Leghorn) is rapidly decreasing in numbers because of the frequency of mixed marriages. In Hungary, Bavaria, and Amsterdam the number of mixed marriages is less striking, and they are least frequent in Latvia, White Russia, and the Ukraine.

It might have been expected that in times of particularly strong anti-Semitism mixed marriages would have de-

creased, but this has not been the case in the past, possibly because anti-Semitism was limited to certain strata of the non-Jewish population and did not strongly affect large circles of the middle and working classes. A slight decrease in mixed marriages appeared for the first time in Germany in 1930, and was probably due to the powerful growth of the Nazi movement, which makes social intercourse between Jews and non-Jews difficult or even impossible. It is stated that the Nazi Government intends to forbid marriages between "Aryans" and "non-Aryans", a single Jewish grandparent sufficing to place a person in the latter class; such marriages are already forbidden in the army.

Before the Jewish mass immigration from Eastern Europe began in 1881, the percentage of mixed marriages was fairly high among the American Jews, most of them of German or Dutch extraction; they were particularly frequent in the Southern and Western States where Jews lived in small numbers. The percentage fell with the coming of vast masses of Jewish immigrants, alien to the Americans in customs and language, and therefore cut off from social intercourse with them. But, since about 1900, intermarriages have started in New York City between the East Side Jews and their Italian neighbours engaged in similar trades (*e.g.* the clothing trade); also marriages between the children of Jewish immigrants born and educated in America and non-Jewish Americans have become more frequent. According to Drachsler,[1] who has examined the marriage records in New York City for 1908–1912, mixed marriages were fewest among the East European Jews, more frequent among those from Hungary and Holland, and most frequent among the German and French Jews, who, in culture, stand closest to the Americans; *i.e.* mixed marriages increase among Jews as they become Americanized, a process which, on the whole, depends on the length of their residence in America. According to reliable observers, mixed marriages have grown

[1] *Democracy and Assimilation* (New York, 1920), p. 121.

fairly frequent in the United States since the War, and are steadily increasing.

The number of mixed marriages is very small among the Jews in Poland, Latvia (cf. Table XXII), and, according to my own investigations, in Roumania and Carpatho-Russia, while their number is rapidly increasing in Russia, where they were forbidden before the Revolution. Of every 100 Jews and Jewesses marrying between 1924 and 1926, mixed marriages were contracted by—

2·81 per cent in White Russia.
4·55 ,, in the Ukraine.
16·77 ,, in Central Russia.[1]

The immense territory of Central Russia, formerly barred to the Jews, and to which they are now flocking from the Ukraine and White Russia, has become for them a centre of intense assimilation. The migration to Central Russia—as indeed all migrations—undermines inherited customs. Living in the traditional surroundings in the Ukraine or White Russia, the Jew hesitated to enter a mixed marriage, but in Central Russia he accepts it as one of the many new things to which he has to adapt himself. Having been given equal rights, he follows here the same path in regard to mixed marriages as the Jews in Western and Central Europe have followed, and even with greater speed.

(d) *Mixed Marriages according to Sex*

Table XXII shows that in nearly all countries Jews enter mixed marriages more frequently than Jewesses, the girl being more easily influenced by the wishes of her parents and by fear of unpleasant relations with her husband's

[1] Even this figure is certainly an under-estimate. In Soviet Russia a mixed marriage is a marriage between persons of different nationality, the State taking no cognizance of religion. But everyone is free to choose his nationality, and great numbers of assimilated Jews no doubt declare themselves Russians.

family. Moreover, the number of mixed marriages not registered as such in statistics, because of a previous change of religion, is greater in the case of Jewish brides than of bridegrooms, as the man usually has greater resistance. Owing to the numerical predominance of men over women among the Jewish immigrants to Central Russia, mixed marriages with a Jewish husband are more frequent there, while in White Russia and the Ukraine mixed marriages with a Jewish wife predominate, the migration of Jewish men having produced a disproportion between the sexes. The destruction of the Jewish religious tradition by the Russian Revolution has thrown open the gates to intermarriage.

Mixed marriages are most common in large cities, where the influence of religion and social caste is weakest, and social intercourse between Jews and non-Jews easiest; likewise in countries where Jews have lived in small numbers for a long time, have become assimilated to their neighbours, are financially prosperous, and enjoy legal and social equality. Such is the case in Denmark, Italy, Australia, France, Great Britain, and Sweden. No data are available for the last three countries, but it can be seen that among old-established Jews mixed marriages are very frequent, especially in the higher strata of society.

(e) *Losses caused to Jewry by Mixed Marriages*

Births from mixed marriages formed in proportion to those from purely Jewish unions—

In Prussia in 1929	17·91 per cent.
,, Berlin in 1925	19·95 ,,
,, Bavaria in 1926–1927 . . .	14·97 ,,
,, Budapest in 1927 . . .	16·03 ,,

Considerably less than half of the children born from mixed marriages enter the Jewish religious community. Of all such children living in the homes of their parents, the following proportion was Jewish:

	Year.	In Mixed Marriages.		
		With Jewish Husband.	With Jewish Wife.	Together.
Prussia . .	1910	25·8 per cent	20·8 per cent	23·7 per cent
Saxony . .	1905	27·1 ,,	10·0 ,,	18·6 ,,
Bremen . .	1900	40·0 ,,	5·1 ,,	16·9 ,,
New South Wales .	1901	30·0 ,,	36·4 ,,	..
Copenhagen .	1906	..	..	16·5 ,,

Thus less than one-fourth of the children from mixed marriages become Jews, the percentage being, in most cases, higher in marriages in which the husband is Jewish.

In Hungary, unless a specific agreement is reached previous to the conclusion of a mixed marriage regarding the religion of the future children, the sons follow the religion of the father, and the daughters that of the mother. In 1929 only about one-fourth of such agreements favoured Judaism. No such figures are available for other countries, but it is probable that conditions are similar. As soon as mixed marriages become common, which invariably points to a breaking down of social barriers, Jewish religion loses its hold on its followers. Religious indifference prevails, and men tend to "go with the crowd", *i.e.* they accept the religion of the majority. Not only Judaism suffers by this outlook, but all minority religions. Further, the figures quoted above refer only to children living in their parental homes. It can be assumed that many of these children, once they have left their homes and come under the influence of their Christian relatives, give up Judaism, and that those adhering to it throughout life hardly make more than 10 per cent of all born from mixed marriages.

In Prussia, in 1929, 611 children were born from mixed, and 3355 from purely Jewish marriages; but reckoning on the 10 per cent basis, instead of 305 only 61 of

the offspring of mixed marriages adhered to the Jewish religion.

While even before 1933 birth control, rather than mixed marriages, formed the greatest danger for the survival of Prussian Jewry, the further reduction of the low Jewish birth-rate in Prussia by mixed marriages is not unimportant. Moreover, mixed marriages, like baptisms, are a significant symptom of a fundamental phenomenon: the weakening of the Jewish communal consciousness. They mark the last stage of a process which began with the destruction of the ghetto and the participation of the Jews in the life of their neighbours, and the degree of frequency of mixed marriages is a reliable measure for the degree of Jewish assimilation.

(f) *Effects of Mixed Marriages on the Jewish Race*

In 1929, the 61 children from mixed marriages who remained Jews formed 1·8 per cent of the total of Jewish children born that year in Prussia. Moreover, a part—not determinable statistically but no doubt considerable—of the 233 illegitimate children of Jewish mothers had a non-Jewish father. Assuming this for one-half of all these illegitimate children, 4·8 per cent of the 3966 children were of mixed race. Lastly, a certain admixture of non-Jewish blood is likely to come in as a result of adultery, at any rate in the cities of Western Europe. The infiltration of non-Jewish blood must in the long run modify the racial qualities of the Jews. Increasing numbers of persons are seen among the Jews who, in their outward appearance, resemble their non-Jewish neighbours. If 4·8 per cent of the Jewish children each year were of mixed race, in a few generations there would be hardly a Jew in such a community who could be described as of pure Jewish descent.

In absolute figures the number of children with an admixture of Jewish blood joined to the Christian community through mixed marriages (open or concealed), or through

illegitimate birth from a Jewish father, is even greater than the non-Jewish admixture to the Jewish community; but as in 1929 in Prussia 645,000 children were born to the Christians—175 times as many as to the Jews—percentually the admixture is unimportant. Only in certain large cities, where the proportion of Jews among the population is high, and where mixed marriages, baptisms, and illicit sexual intercourse are frequent, can the admixture of Jewish blood leave a mark on the racial character of the non-Jewish population. In Berlin, for example, in 1929, of the 38,481 legitimate live births, 342 were from mixed marriages between Jews and Christians, and of these we assume that approximately 300 were baptized. Adding a fraction of the 8590 illegitimate children of Christian mothers, and the children from "concealed" mixed marriages, probably 2 per cent of the Christian children every year have one Jewish parent. This is no longer unimportant, and the admixture in either community is leading to an obliteration of racial differences.

(2) Baptisms

(a) *Historical Survey*

Change of religion is not a new phenomenon in Jewish history, and was known in the Diaspora even while the Jewish State still existed. Thus in Alexandria, about A.D. 40, in consequence of persecutions, cases occurred of Jews becoming pagans. Even the son of Alexander, the head of the Jewish community, was among the apostates and was rewarded by high honours in the State—as happens in our own times. Remarkably large numbers of Jewish converts among all nations have attained high social position. All through the Middle Ages there occur free or forced conversions to Christianity. So long as they remained Jews, the Christian Church invariably treated them with enmity and contempt, but Jews prepared to accept baptism were welcomed with open arms.

As in the Middle Ages public opinion was dominated by the Church, the idea was accepted that a baptized Jew "had cast off the old Adam", and he was received by his fellow-Christians on an equal footing.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the adoption of Christianity by Jews was very frequent in Spain and Portugal, and still more so during the times of persecution, when many tried to save themselves by means of baptism. But also in France, Italy, Germany, and even in Poland, there were both free and forced conversions. Although these were only isolated cases they continued steadily through the centuries and were therefore not without significance.

The number of persons adopting Judaism is very small as compared to those seceding from it. In the first centuries of the Christian era, Judaism gained great numbers of proselytes among the pagans (quite apart from the Edomites converted by force), but Judaism ceased to spread when Christianity presented the pagans with the essential doctrine of Judaism—monotheism—free of the irksome ceremonial and the religious and racial conceit of the Jew. A stop was put for ever to Jewish missionary activities. The adoption of Judaism by several Arab tribes in Yemen under King Yussuf in the sixth century had no important effects, because Yussuf's kingdom was destroyed in A.D. 530, and whatever survived of Judaism was, for the most part, absorbed by Islam in the seventh century. There remain at present only some thirty to forty thousand Yemenite Jews in Yemen and Palestine. In the eighth century there was another mass accession to Judaism, when the King of the Khazars—a people on the Lower Volga—was converted with his court, though it is doubtful to what extent the Jewish religion was adopted and retained by the lower ranks, and whether it survived among them the destruction of their kingdom in the eleventh century. Of groups of alien proselytes existing to-day, the Falashas, the coloured Jews of the Malabar Coast, and the Subbotniki in Russia were

mentioned in Chapter I. They have exercised no influence on Jewish history. During the whole of the Middle Ages there were occasional conversions of Christians or pagans to Judaism, as that of one of the knights of Charlemagne; and, so long as these were not forbidden by the Church, there were conversions of pagan or Christian slaves belonging to Jews; by adopting Judaism they improved their position in their master's house.

(b) *Baptisms in the Nineteenth Century*

When the French Revolution and the incipient emancipation of the Jews seemed to be opening up a new era of equality for all men, many Jews in Western and Central Europe considered themselves bound to comply with the demands of their non-Jewish neighbours and to discard their peculiarities, including their religion. The centre of this movement was Berlin, where Moses Mendelssohn by his German translation of the Bible had paved the way for the approach of the Jews to German civilization. But while he himself remained an orthodox Jew and contended that one could at the same time be a good Jew and a good European, his children adopted Christianity. There was hardly a Jew of any standing in Berlin at the beginning of the nineteenth century who adhered to his inherited faith. About the middle of the century the tendency to baptize diminished in Germany, as under the influence of liberal ideas and religious tolerance professing Jews were no longer socially ostracized. Baptisms reached their lowest point in 1876, when in Prussia only 50 Jews adopted Protestantism. Since then baptisms have again become more frequent, possibly as a result of the reviving anti-Semitism.

According to an estimate by De la Roi,[1] in the nineteenth century 205,000 Jews adopted Christianity—

[1] "Judentaufen im 19. Jahrhundert" in the review *Nathaniel*, Nos. 3 and 4 (Berlin, 1899).

85,000 in Russia.
45,000 in Austria-Hungary.
29,000 in Great Britain.
23,000 in Germany.
13,000 in North America.
10,000 in other countries.

Jews officially seceding from the Jewish community without joining any other, and children of mixed marriages, are not included in these figures.

(c) *Baptisms at the Present Time*

In the twentieth century the number of baptisms has increased everywhere. In Hungary the average number of Jews baptized each year was—

1896–1900	261
1901–1905	420
1906–1907	365
1919	7146
1920	1925
1921	827
1922	499
1923	412
1924	433
1925	458
1928	451
1929	588

The enormous increase in 1919 was due to the White Terror, many Jews hoping to escape its persecutions by baptism. The figure for 1929 still represents a loss to Jewry of 1·5 per thousand.

In Hungary the conversions to Judaism were as follows:

1919	137
1920	168
1921	243
1922	340
1923	311
1924	315
1925	326
1928	271
1929	204

The relatively high figures for 1922 to 1925 were probably due to many Jews, baptized in 1919, returning to Judaism. The net loss of Hungarian Jewry in 1919–1929 amounts to approximately 10,700 persons, or a yearly average of 2 per thousand.

In Germany the average number of Jews converted each year to Protestantism was—

1880 to 1910 . . .	412
1911 to 1921 . . .	415
1922 to 1925 . . .	302

The decrease of conversions to Protestantism does not necessarily mean a decrease of secessions from Judaism. The report of the Berlin Jewish community for 1925 shows a loss by secession of 178 persons; but as only 48 of them adopted Protestantism, while 7 Protestants became Jews, the net loss through conversions to Protestantism hardly amounted to one-fourth of the total (41 in 178), the remainder joining no religious community (Roman Catholic baptisms of Jews were numerically unimportant). If this proportion is used as basis for the whole of Germany, during the four years 1922 to 1925 the annual loss of Jewry by secessions amounted not to 302, but to 1311, *i.e.* to 2·3 per thousand.

"Undenominationalism" has become common among the Jews since it has begun to spread among the Christians, and since an "undenominational" is no longer regarded as an outcast, an eccentric, or a disguised Jew. In 1925 in Germany the number of persons who belonged to no religious community but to some kind of ethical union amounted to 243,377; of persons belonging neither to a religious community nor to an ethical union, to 1,140,957. Thus the undenominationals have come to form a not inconsiderable fraction (2·48 per cent) of the German population, and have lost their eccentric character. The Jews prefer to become undenominational because this step does not entail baptism

and is therefore less severely disapproved of by the Jewish community. It also renders unnecessary the declaration of faith demanded from a convert who, in most cases, renounces Judaism only because he is tired of the stigma attached to it (apart from cases where the change is made for material reasons or because of marriage to a Christian). These scruples frequently lead Jewish parents in Germany to retain their Jewish religion, but to have their children baptized in infancy.

The best conditions for secession from Judaism are found in the large cities, where the economic and professional differences between Jews and non-Jews are smallest. Intellectual life, dominated by rationalism, has created a common basis for Christians and Jews, unaffected by religion. The control of the Jewish community over its members is weakened by its great size.

In Germany a Jew may secede from the Jewish community and yet remain a Jew by religion. In Berlin, in 1929, 464 persons withdrew in this manner from the Jewish community (while 86 entered it). Such withdrawals from a Jewish community occur either in order to join another Jewish community (*e.g.* Orthodox or Reformed), or in order to escape communal taxation, which many people try to do. But though this can be achieved by a mere withdrawal from the community, it often leads to complete secession from Judaism. Once a man begins to wonder whether it is worth while to pay taxes for his Judaism, he will usually decide to give up Judaism altogether.

Since 1868 a law has been in force in Austria, enabling any person over fourteen years of age to leave his religious community; children under seven years automatically follow their father; while between seven and fourteen no change of religion is possible. In Vienna the number of persons who seceded from Judaism amounted on an average to—

1868 to 1870	. .	20 = 0·4	per 1000 Jews.
1881 to 1890	. .	241 = 2·0	,, ,,
1901 to 1905	. .	580 = 3·6	,, ,,
1921/22	. . .	954 = 4·7	,, ,,
1923/24	. . .	1003 = 5·0	,, ,,
1927	. . .	909 = 4·5	,, ,,
1928	. . .	921 = 4·6	,, ,,
1929	. . .	862 = 4·3	,, ,,

These figures are high, and marriages with non-Jews contribute to them considerably.

Of the Vienna Jews who seceded from Judaism between 1891 and 1914—

48·8	per cent	became Roman Catholics.
25·6	,, ,,	Protestants.
22·2	,, ,,	undenominational.
3·0	,,	joined unknown denominations.

The Protestant Church received a number of converts disproportionate to its own strength in Vienna, where it comprises only 4·8 per cent of the population, possibly because reception into the Protestant Church is simpler and connected with fewer formalities than reception into the Catholic Church. The percentage of Jews declaring themselves of no denomination, who in 1891–1914 formed 22·2 per cent, has since risen much higher; of the 862 Jews who seceded from Judaism in 1929, 713, *i.e.* 83 per cent, became undenominational. This was connected to some extent with a similar movement of secession from the Christian Churches —between 1917 and 1927, 130,000 Christians in Vienna declared themselves undenominational.

While between 1868 and 1929, 28,777 Vienna Jews seceded from Judaism, 6310 Christians adopted it. With the latter the reasons were in the majority of cases marital, which is proved by some 80 per cent of their number having been women. The figure also includes reverts to Judaism. Thus the net loss to Vienna Jewry between 1868 and 1929 amounted to 22,407 persons.

In Budapest there seceded from Judaism—

In 1927	.	.	.	270 persons.
„ 1928	.	.	.	344 „
„ 1929	.	.	.	369 „

Judaism was adopted by 58 persons in 1928. The increase in the number of baptisms in 1928 and 1929 is supposed to be due to an especially active propaganda by missionary societies.

In Warsaw, in 1925, 76 Jews adopted Christianity, while 23 Christians adopted Judaism. It is stated that the actual number of baptisms of Jews is considerably greater, but that many converts keep the fact secret. Among the motives for baptism the strongest is the hope for State appointments and the admission of children to privileged schools, and in the case of women, marriage to a Christian.

In the United States formal changes from Judaism to Christianity are comparatively rare, probably because the State takes no official cognizance of membership of religious communities, which is regarded as a purely personal matter. Only in the case of a mixed marriage the Jew or Jewess occasionally adopts Christianity, or the Christian, Judaism. But it happens much more frequently that Jews, without formally seceding from the Jewish religion, attach themselves more or less definitely to one of the many Christian sects, or take part in their religious services. It appears that hundreds of thousands of Jews are followers of Christian Science. It is not a question of formal baptism, but rather of a line of action which alienates Jews from their religion and causes them gradually to forget it.

While in Vienna baptism has become a mass phenomenon, which causes an annual loss to Jewry of about 4·5 per thousand, in Western and Central Europe it amounts to 1–2 and in Eastern Europe to less than 0·5 per thousand. Thus in Vienna a secession occurs annually to every 233 Jews, in the rest of Central Europe to every 800, and in Eastern Europe to every 3000 Jews. At this rate, in the course of one genera-

tion (about forty years) every sixth Jew in Vienna, every twentieth in Central Europe, and every seventy-fifth in Eastern Europe will secede from Judaism. Although none of these figures are insignificant, apart from Vienna they are not dangerous at their present level; but the question is whether they do not represent an early stage of the phenomenon now evident in Vienna. The further development of the movement of secession will depend on two things: whether religious indifference with a resulting change to undenominationalism will increase among the Christians, and whether Christian society will accept a baptized Jew more readily than one who has remained true to his religion. More important even than these factors will be the question whether Jewry will succeed in producing within itself the force necessary to counteract the present centrifugal tendencies.

As shown above, there is a close interrelation between mixed marriages and baptisms. But mixed marriages are most frequent where the Jews enjoy social equality and free intercourse with non-Jews; baptism, where they hope by that means to escape a certain social ostracism. Thus mixed marriages are frequent in Australia, South America, and Italy, but baptisms there are few; the reverse is the case in Budapest and Vienna. Where anti-Semitism is strongest and the Church has lost her hold on public opinion, even baptism no longer saves the Jewish convert from persecution, and this results in a decrease in the number of baptisms. It remains to be seen whether this will lead also to a diminution of changes to undenominationalism.

(d) *Missionary Societies*

The endeavours of the Christian Church to convert Jews continued all through the Middle Ages. With the same aim in view the "London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews" (L.J.S.) was founded in 1809. In 1925–1926 it had a budget of about £50,000 and maintained missions

in twenty-two places (in Great Britain, Central and Eastern Europe, Palestine, Persia, and North Africa), with which schools and dispensaries were frequently connected. It is stated that in the course of the nineteenth century the Society converted some 7000 Jews to Christianity. These results appear very slight when compared with the sums expended. Besides, there are numerous small missionary societies with their centres in Germany, Switzerland, Scandinavia, and the United States, and these are chiefly active in Eastern Europe and the Near East. Several years ago, the International Society of Christian Hebrews was founded in England, and organized its first congress in London in 1928. Its members are baptized Jews, mainly missionaries, who consider that by their adoption of Christianity they have not severed their connexion with the Jewish people.

VII. ATTEMPTS AT CONSOLIDATION IN THE DIASPORA

CHAPTER XXI

PRESERVATION OF RELIGION

(1) Religious Reforms

Consciously or unconsciously, and in various ways, Jewry has struggled against the blows that have threatened its existence. The several phases through which the Jewish religion has passed in the last century, from Orthodoxy by way of Liberal to Reform Judaism, are so many attempts made in the retreat to raise new ramparts against the destructive influence of European civilization. The original front-line has been held only in a few remote territories of Eastern Europe and the Near East. Elsewhere the question turned merely on how far the retreat should go before establishing a new defensive position.

Where the Jews had adopted the language of the country, they endeavoured to retain their religion and their communal consciousness based on a common past, while trying fully to take their place in the civilization of the country. Orthodox Judaism, which entangles its followers in a network of obsolete ritual, had to undergo a reformation, and to adopt new forms better suited to modern knowledge and conditions. As early as the middle of the eighteenth century the Chassidic movement in Poland turned against the superabundance of ritual rules, and sought the essence of religion in the spiritual relationship of man to God; still, they did not dare to brush aside the ritual laws, but, basing themselves on the Cabbala, developed the mystical side of their doctrine[1] (belief in the efficacy of prayer, and in the

[1] Even at present the Chassidim still represent a great power in East European Jewry. Numerically they are a minority, but they are well

zaddik—the miracle-working rabbi—as mediator between God and man).

In the period of enlightenment, the Jews, while casting off most of the trappings of the ritual laws, tried to elicit and determine the spiritual contents of the Jewish religion. It was thus that Reform or Liberal Judaism arose in Germany at the beginning of the nineteenth century. To the followers of either the Jews are not a people, but a religious denomination, not a national, but a spiritual community which, like Protestantism or Catholicism, can have its members among various nations. The essence of the Jewish religion they see in an ethical monotheism, with its eternal foundations in the Pentateuch and the Prophets, while later Rabbinical teachings are to them the product of passing conditions, subject to modification.

This doctrine was specially important at the time of the struggle for political emancipation, when the opponents reproached the Jews with being a separate nation, and asserted that they could not, therefore, attain full citizenship in another nation. Liberal Judaism left the Sabbath and Jewish Feasts untouched; the ritual laws were not formally abrogated, but many were regarded as of secondary importance and the question of their observance was left to individual judgment. A sermon in the vernacular, organ music, and choir were added to the service. Women, who in Orthodox Judaism occupy a secondary position in the synagogue and at religious ceremonies, were given a greater share in the services.

The doctrine of Liberal Judaism gained an ally in the "Science of Judaism"—founded in Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century by Leopold Zunz, Abraham Geiger, Samuel Holdheim, and Zacharias Frankel—which,

organized. They obey the orders of their *zaddikim*, some of whom have a large following, *e.g.* the *zaddik* in Gora Kalvarya (near Warsaw), in Alexander (near Lodz), in Belz (Galicia), and in Munkacz (Carpatho-Russia).

in dealing with Jewish history and the evolution of the Jewish liturgy and doctrine, showed how the modern Jewish religion had gradually developed. The ceremonial laws were stripped of the glamour of a divine origin, and the way was cleared for Liberal Judaism to develop religion by further adapting it to the altered conditions of Jewish life.

Liberal Judaism, by its historic conception of the Jewish religion, by the distinction it draws between essentials and later accretions, by beautifying the religious service, and by asserting the compatibility of Jewish religion with modern learning and membership of another nation, has prevented many Jews from seceding. It has tried to assert itself against Orthodox Judaism and to gain adherents at its expense; for many of these, Liberal Judaism was, however, merely a stage on the way to baptism.

While even the slightest bond suffices to retain an overwhelming majority of followers for a dominant religion, the economic and social advantages to be gained by a renunciation of Judaism are often so considerable as to produce secession or conversion. To the Orthodox Jew religion is an integral part of his Jewish existence, and an attack against it is an attack against the Jewish people; he is therefore ready to sacrifice himself for his religion. Liberal Judaism, which detaches Jewish religion from the conception of the Jewish people, inspires no such spirit of self-sacrifice—Liberal Judaism is a convenient, modern religion, but has neither warmth nor depth.

Reform Judaism is a variation of Liberal Judaism. It has gone a step further in its adjustments to external conditions primarily by adopting Sunday for its Sabbath day. In Germany it has synagogues only in Berlin and Hamburg, but in the United States it has acquired a wide following. Orthodox Judaism is the religion of the East European immigrants and "Conservative" Judaism that of their children, while Reform Judaism is adopted by the Jews who are fully

Americanized; more especially the nineteenth-century immigrants from Germany. The differences between Christianity and Judaism tend to disappear in it; there are hardly any in regard to ethics, ceremonial law plays no part (Isaac M. Wise, the founder of American Reform Judaism, denied the authority of the Talmud), Jewish mysticism is discarded; the only difference is in the interpretation of the Messianic character of Jesus Christ, but it is not stressed.

In the United States church attendance is more incumbent on the Christians than in Germany, and under that influence the Jews, too, try to dignify their religious services, which task is fulfilled by Reform Judaism. Very large sums are spent on the construction of magnificent places of worship (called temples and not synagogues), high salaries are paid to the rabbis, and organ and choir are introduced into the services. From the aesthetic point of view the services are not inferior to the Christian. Further, as Reform Judaism imposes no oppressive dogmas or ritual, but takes pride in reconciling the Jewish religion with learning and civilization, its following is considerable; though a large number of Jews pass over to Christian Science, Unitarianism, Ethical Societies, etc.

In the past the Jewish religion was studied and expounded in the *yeshivas* (Talmud schools), and a few of these still survive in Eastern Europe. They have, however, lost in importance, though certain distinguished rabbis are still recognized by the Orthodox Jews as authoritative teachers and interpreters of the doctrine. In modern times four institutions have been founded for the study of Jewish religion, literature, and history: the Society for the Advancement of Jewish Knowledge, founded in Berlin in 1902 (its main work is *Outlines of the Knowledge of Judaism*); the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, founded in Philadelphia in 1905; the Academy for Jewish Knowledge, founded in Berlin in 1910; and the Judaistic Institute of the Hebrew University, opened in Jerusalem in 1925.

The Orthodox Jews still choose their rabbis from among the students of famous *yeshivas*, but when in the nineteenth century a European education also came to be demanded from them, special institutes were founded for their training. Among the oldest is the Collegio Rabbinico in Rome (formerly in Padua), and the Rabbinical College at Metz, founded in 1829. There is further a Liberal and an Orthodox Rabbinical College in Berlin, a Conservative College in Breslau, and seminaries in Vienna, London, Amsterdam, Budapest, Serajevo, and Rhodos; and five in the United States (the oldest in Cincinnati, founded in 1875, for the training of Reform rabbis), from which, between 1923 and 1927, 168 students graduated as rabbis.

(2) Communal Organization

The Jewish local community (*kahal, kehilla*) kept up the Jewish worship all through the Diaspora. It had to make provision for the religious services, for the ceremonial at weddings, burials, and circumcisions, for the care of orphans and the poor, and for Jewish education. It was more than a voluntary association; it existed in public law, and was endowed with important economic and political rights and duties. For the Jew the community was his national home and his refuge in the midst of hostile surroundings. The Jews could not have survived centuries of persecutions but for their solid communal organization. In Eastern Europe till recent times membership of a Jewish community was a matter of course for every Jew, and he was loth to live where there was no such community. The Jews scattered in rural districts where they were too few to form a community, would join that of the nearest town, and go there for the Feast days, and it was extremely rare that a Jew should be unconnected with any community.

When in modern times the relations between the State

and the religious communities were regulated by law, and the State began to exercise supervision over them, in most countries where the Jews had lived for a long time, their communities were officially recognized, the new regulations dealing mainly with their budgets, rates, franchise, and the officials. At the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries legislation of this kind was enacted in Prussia, Austria, Poland, and Russia. In 1808 new methods were adopted in France; a local Consistory for the care of Jewish worship was founded in every department, or group of departments, containing a minimum of 2000 Jewish inhabitants, and a Central Consistory for the whole of France was established in Paris—all under Government control. This organization continued till the separation of Church and State in 1905. Like the Christians, the Jews now form voluntary communities, whose representatives elect a Central Council, presided over by the Chief Rabbi, which takes charge of the religious affairs of the Jewish population.

Since the War new regulations concerning the Jewish communal organization have been enacted in various States of Eastern and Southern Europe, *e.g.* in Poland in 1928, in Roumania in 1929, and in Italy in 1931. The principle has generally been adopted that the Jewish community is a body recognized in public law, empowered to impose taxes on all Jews within its district. Everyone born of Jewish parents is considered a Jew, so long as he has not formally declared his secession from the Jewish religious community. The community is to take charge of matters concerning worship and public welfare. In some countries—*e.g.* in Poland, Austria, and Italy—the rabbi is the official registrar of Jewish births, deaths, and marriages. In certain countries (*e.g.* the United States) the State does not in any way interfere with religious matters or take cognizance of religious affiliations; in some others (*e.g.* England) it legislates for the National Church only. There the care of Jewish worship is in the

hands of congregations and other associations subject to the ordinary law concerning associations; their membership is purely voluntary and not taken for granted on the basis of origin.

The voluntary character of a community is, however, no hindrance to the efficient organization of religious life. In the United States, in 1927, of 4,228,000 Jews, 4,077,000 lived in 871 places with organizations for Jewish worship, while only 151,000 Jews were scattered in 8841 places without such organizations. There were 3118 congregations, of which 1745 (56 per cent) had their own rabbis; in seven towns with a Jewish population of more than 20,000 each, the congregations united into local unions (*kehilloth*). In point of size the most important *kehilla* is that of New York City, founded in 1909. On the executive of the *kehilla* there are representatives of the congregations and of societies for Jewish welfare and education, as the activity of the *kehilla* extends to these matters. Thus duties which in other countries are assigned by law to the community have here been voluntarily assumed by it.

In most countries where the constitution of the Jewish communities is regulated by law, only one such community is recognized in each place, and all the Jews automatically belong to it and are liable to be taxed by it. In some countries (*e.g.* Prussia) a Jew is free to leave the community without thereby seceding from Judaism. He then remains unconnected with any community, or is free to combine with other Jews in a new community, which, however, will not enjoy the same rights as that which has been officially recognized. Again, in Hungary, by the law of 1869, two Jewish communities, one Orthodox and the other Liberal, may exist in the same place, both enjoying official recognition; moreover, there are the so-called *status quo* communities which, in spite of the Act of 1869, have retained their original structure, and have joined neither the Liberal nor the Orthodox group.

In the sixteenth century an attempt was made in Poland to unite the Jewish communities in a common organization; with a view to a better preservation of Jewish interests in relations with the Government, they had a common representation in the so-called Synod of the Four Countries. But though the Synod long played an important part in the Jewish life of Poland, the organization was not reproduced in other countries. Only when in the beginning of the nineteenth century the Jewish communities were reorganized by the State, attempts were made in several countries (*e.g.* in Moravia and Hungary) to form unions for certain matters with which single communities were not fit to deal, *e.g.* the training of rabbis and religious teachers. The French Consistorial organization set the example, which, in countries where the State did not create such a common organization, was replaced by voluntary unions. Thus, in 1869, the Union of Jewish Communities was formed in Berlin, followed by similar unions in the more important German States. The need of such an organization was emphasized by the difficulties which of recent times hundreds of Jewish communities in small towns experienced with regard to maintaining a properly organized worship; their membership was dwindling, especially through migration to the cities, and they became dependent on help from the centre. In the spring of 1933, the Jewish unions in the various German States combined in a "Reich-Union of Jewish Provincial Associations". Besides, the chief Jewish associations have formed a Board of Deputies to represent the interests of German Jewry in its relations with the Government.

Also in other countries there is a tendency to form compulsory or voluntary unions of the local communities. In Roumania, in 1929, the local Jewish communities were recognized by law, and the establishment of separate Orthodox, Liberal, and Sephardic communities was permitted; communities of each type combine in a Union, and the three Unions in a Jewish Congress, which is supreme in matters of

Jewish religion and represents it in relations with the Government. It also elects the member of the Senate assigned to the Jews by the Roumanian Constitution.

In Hungary the Orthodox and the Liberal communities each form a union recognized by the State, and since 1929 also the *status quo* communities. In 1929 a majority of the communities—134 of the 257 large, and 272 of the 429 small communities—were Orthodox; but as in Budapest, which comprises half of Hungarian Jewry, in 1930, 199,000 Jews belonged to Liberal, and only 35,000 to Orthodox Synagogues, the following of the former was greater.

In the United States, the Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform congregations have established three separate unions—the Union of Orthodox Congregations of America, the United Synagogue of America, and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations—which in 1927 comprised 677, or 22 per cent, of the congregations and were, in turn, united in a central organization, the Synagogue Council of America. Their main object is the upkeep of the Rabbinical Seminaries, for which they tax their congregations.

There are also religious associations of which the membership includes both communities and individuals: there is the ultra-Orthodox Agudath Israel with its centre in Frankfort and branches in every part of the world; the Association for Liberal Judaism in Germany, founded in 1907; the World Union for Progressive Judaism in London, which represents the interests of Liberal Judaism all the world over and in 1928 and 1930 held conferences in London and Berlin, attended by delegates from many countries.

In the Zionist Organization, the Mizrachi group aims at developing the Jewish commonwealth in Palestine in accordance with the Torah. More moderate in its religious claims than the Agudath Israel, it favours adjustment of tradition to modern conditions, but desires to effect it within the framework of the religious laws.

(3) Jewish Religious Instruction

Attachment to Jewish religion and its customs is strongest when acquired at home, and interwoven with the reminiscences of childhood and with the child's devotion to its parents. When Jewish tradition began to disappear in Western and Central Europe, and many children learned little or nothing of it in their homes, nor received any Jewish religious instruction in the school, there was the danger of their remaining ignorant of Jewish religion and history. To counteract this danger, about the middle of the nineteenth century, the German Jews, assisted by the Government, began to found Jewish religious schools in which children were taught religion, Hebrew, and Jewish history and literature, either on Sundays or half-holidays; but attendance is not obligatory and many children stay away, while in small places there are no such schools. In any case the instruction is limited to a few hours a week, is supplementary in character, and is not treated by the children as equal in importance to that of their ordinary schools. Conditions are similar in Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Bulgaria.

In the United States considerable sums are spent by the Jews on the Jewish education of their children attending communal schools. In the nineteenth century the Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe continued to send their children to the *chayders* for religious instruction. These, however, were reorganized and modernized by the foundation, in 1909, of the Teachers' Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, and of the Bureau of Jewish Education. To-day nearly every large Jewish community has a Jewish Centre with a school for the teaching of Jewish subjects, and instruction is given in them on modern lines, in English, on Sundays or half-holidays. Most of these schools are under the Central Jewish Institute of New York. As a rule, the children are taught three to six

hours a week from the ages of seven or eight to thirteen. The preparation of boys for the Bar-Mizwah is an important object and the conclusion of this instruction.

In some American towns there are also Jewish secondary schools attended by pupils from the Jewish elementary schools who wish to continue their Judaistic studies; there are also several *yeshivas*, some of which give general instruction and are officially recognized as elementary schools.

In spite of endeavours to attract Jewish children to the religious schools, according to an inquiry made in 1927, in New York, of 315,000 Jewish children of school age only 23·2 per cent attended those schools—in Manhattan, which includes the East Side with its immigrant Jewish population, 33 per cent, but only 19 per cent in Brooklyn and 16 per cent in Bronx. Still, the percentage of children who get some kind of religious education is rather higher, for, although the majority does not attend the whole course of seven years, they do attend for a few years. Probably only about one-fourth of the Jewish children receive no religious instruction of any kind.[1]

[1] For this information I am indebted to Mr. Albert P. Schoolman, Director of the Central Jewish Institute in New York.

CHAPTER XXII

GROWTH OF NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

(1) The Jewish Press

A sense of unity could not be preserved among the Jews scattered over many countries without the regular news service between them now supplied by the Jewish press, *i.e.* periodicals and newspapers written by Jews for Jews. The general press can spare but little space for Jewish affairs, and publishes items about them casually and unsystematically, while the Jewish press sets out to report on everything which concerns the Jews at home and abroad, discusses Jewish problems, and tries to defend Jewish interests where they are threatened. The importance of the Jewish press in a country can serve as measure of the interest which its Jews take in Jewish affairs. The Jewish Telegraphic Agency, started in London after the War as a private undertaking, keeps up a news service in all the more important countries, and supplies the press with Jewish news.

Poland, the United States, and Palestine are now the centres of the Jewish press. In 1929 there appeared in Poland, according to official Polish statistics, 127 periodicals in Yiddish and 19 in Hebrew; the number of Jewish periodicals published in Polish was not given. Only 27 periodicals in Yiddish and Hebrew had been started before 1925, while 34 in Yiddish and 6 in Hebrew were started in 1929; in the same year no fewer than 78 Yiddish and 11 Hebrew periodicals stopped publication. A good many among them thus proved short-lived, while their small number before the War was due to the difficulties under which journalism

laboured under Tsarist rule. The majority of these periodicals are political and literary, but there are also a number of technical ones.

In the United States, 111 Jewish periodicals were published in 1927[1]—

In English	65
,, Yiddish	41
,, Hebrew	3
,, other languages . . .	2

They included—

9 dailies (1 in English, 8 in Yiddish).
68 weeklies.
18 monthlies.
16 others.

The Yiddish press in the United States developed strongly during the last fifty years because of the coming in of more than two million East European Jews who knew no English. In 1928 the Yiddish dailies alone attained a circulation of nearly half a million, of which about half belonged to the New York *Vorwärts*, the paper of the Jewish labour parties. But of recent years a marked decline has set in of the Yiddish press, immigration having stopped, while the younger generation is becoming Americanised.

Of 76 newspapers and periodicals (Jewish and non-Jewish) published in Palestine in 1930–1931, 57 were in Hebrew; a considerable proportion of them were technical. Of the four dailies three were in Hebrew and one was in English. In 1928 more than half of the Hebrew papers and periodicals published in the world (72) appeared in Palestine, the centre of the Hebrew press.

The present number of Jewish newspapers and periodicals appearing in non-Jewish languages is uncertain, but is

[1] According to *The American Jewish Year-Book* 5690 (Philadelphia, 1929).

estimated at over a hundred. The number of Jewish newspapers and periodicals published in English has increased greatly during the last thirty or forty years with the growth of Jewries in English-speaking countries, while the number of those in German, French, and Russian is decreasing.

(2) Jewish Public Welfare

(a) *Charity as a Religious Duty*

The Jewish religion bids the rich help the poor and promises to him a reward ("Good deeds save from death"). In the Middle Ages the Jews, as a weak and threatened minority, developed—like every minority—a strong feeling of a common responsibility. In some countries they were obliged by law to provide for their poor, or were made jointly responsible for taxes or fines imposed on members of the community. Moreover, in many a Jewish community the members were connected by marriage, which made them into an enlarged family bound together by a feeling of kinship. Thus, in the course of centuries, the support of the poor by the rich became a custom, a duty of the rich, and a right of the poor;[1] it has helped to preserve a sense of community among the Jews and makes the poor Jew feel that he will not be friendless and unprotected in times of need.

(b) *Local and Territorial Philanthropic Institutions*

Certain kinds of communal welfare organizations have existed for centuries, and now exist in most large Jewish communities; *e.g.* societies for burials (*chevroth kadishoth*), for nursing the sick, for providing trousseaux, for assisting the poor, and for the care of orphans. Besides, there are

[1] See Israel Abrahams' *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, edited by Cecil Roth (London, 1932), p. 331 *et ff.*

now societies for the care of emigrants, of the aged, health and maternity centres, etc. Some communities have set up special welfare departments, or the various societies have formed themselves into a union which in some places co-operates with the community. The Jewish Social Service Association (formerly called United Hebrew Charities) of New York is a union of welfare societies, while the Welfare and Youth Bureau in Berlin has been set up and is administered by the Jewish community. In London the organizing centre is the Board of Guardians and Trustees for the Relief of the Jewish Poor, founded in 1859, and working through a number of special sub-committees.

For purposes which cannot be provided for locally, *e.g.* the care of Jewish emigrants in the big ports, of the Jewish orphans, sick, aged, or blind, in many countries the welfare institutes have combined into territorial unions. Thus at the head of German Jewish welfare organizations there is the Central Welfare Office in Berlin, with branches in the largest German States and provinces; it aims at a rational and systematic organization of the philanthropic activities, and its budget, in 1931, amounted to about 500,000 marks. A similar territorial organization is the Federation of Jewish Relief Organizations of Great Britain.

The number of Jewish orphans in Eastern Europe increased enormously as a result of the War and post-War conditions; and though it has decreased since, yet according to a report by the Union of Centres for the Care of Orphans in Poland, which is assisted by the "Joint", the number of orphans in their care in 1928 still amounted to 12,799.

(c) *Inter-Territorial Philanthropic Organizations*

The oldest of these is the "Alliance Israélite Universelle", founded in Paris by Adolphe Crémieux in 1860; it used to work for the legal emancipation and moral advancement of the Jews, and to help those who suffered because of their

religion. Of recent times it has almost entirely given up political and philanthropic work, limiting its activities to the upkeep of schools in the Near East, which are attended by some 40,000 Jewish children.

The "Ort" was founded in Russia in 1880, to assist the development of handicrafts, industry, and agriculture among the Jews. After the War it was reconstituted as a world-union in Berlin, but still works chiefly in Eastern Europe (Poland, Russia, Roumania, Lithuania, and Latvia). In 1929 its receipts amounted to $556,000 and were derived from subscriptions and donations, and a contribution of $50,000 from the American Joint Distribution Committee.

Before the War, the Jewish Colonization Association (I.C.A.), founded by Baron Hirsch in 1890 with a capital of Frs. 200,000,000 (£8,000,000), was the most important Jewish philanthropical society. In Palestine there is a similar institution for agricultural colonization, the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association ("Pica"), which is a branch of the I.C.A.

During and after the War, the American Joint Distribution Committee, founded in New York in 1914 by American Jews, did most of the work for Jewish relief in Eastern Europe. At first its work was purely philanthropic, but since about 1925, when the political and economic conditions had become more normal and the currencies stabilized, the J.D.C. has transferred its attention to constructive work, which it does through a new society, the American Joint Reconstruction Foundation; it aims at economic reconstruction, forms credit associations, tries to settle Jews in agriculture, and to train them in handicrafts, etc. For agricultural colonization in Soviet Russia the J.D.C. has established a special organization, the "Agro-Joint". As for the credit associations, in nine countries of Eastern Europe their number increased from 92 with a membership of 24,000 in 1921, to 757 with a membership of

310,000 at the end of 1931. Their own capital at the end of 1931 amounted to $3,500,000, the share of the Joint to about $3,000,000, and deposits to $9,000,000; outstanding loans to $13,000,000. The average amount of a loan was about $50. Of these credit societies, 539 were in Poland, 89 in Lithuania, 84 in Roumania, 22 in Latvia, etc.; 55 per cent of the creditors were tradesmen, and 25 per cent artisans and small manufacturers. In Poland, Lithuania, and Latvia these credit societies received re-discount credits from the National Banks.

The receipts of the J.D.C. are derived from periodical "drives" among the American Jews, which between 1914 and 1928 yielded some $75,000,000.

The assistance given since 1914 to the Jews of Eastern Europe by the American Jews by far surpasses any former relief action within Jewry. If the remittances sent to relatives were included, the sums spent between 1914 and 1930 by the American Jews on Jewish relief in Eastern Europe would probably exceed $200,000,000.

(d) *Emigrant Welfare*

During the period of mass emigrations from Eastern Europe, organizations for advising and helping emigrants played an important part. Of these the oldest is the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (Hias) in New York, founded in 1888 by American Jews; it assists the Jewish immigrants in the U.S.A. with legal advice and financial support, and helps them to find employment. Following the example of the Hias, the "Sofrotimis" Society was founded in Buenos Aires, and the "Beneficiente" in Rio de Janeiro. The Immigration Department of the Jewish Agency looks after the immigrants in Palestine and maintains immigration agencies (Palestine Offices) in most of the countries of origin. Besides, in the emigration and transit countries, emigrants were assisted by the I.C.A., the "Hilfsverein" in Berlin, and,

after the War, the J.D.C. To co-ordinate their work, these societies formed, in 1921, in Berlin, the United Committee for Jewish Emigration ("Emigdirect"), which undertook the care of the Jewish emigrants from Eastern Europe, who had nearly all to pass through Germany. In 1927, Hias, Emigdirect, and the I.C.A. formed a new organization, the "Hicem", with centres in Paris and Berlin, which assumed the care of all the Jewish emigrants. This could provide the necessary guidance to Jewish emigration, save much human suffering, and avoid a waste of money; but by a cruel coincidence, at the very moment when this organization was formed, the field of its activities was severely restricted by the closing of most countries to immigration.

(3) Youth Organizations

These are of the greatest importance for the maintenance of Jewish consciousness, because it is in the years of youth that the future attitude of the individual towards Judaism is determined. Apart from the Jewish athletic associations, described in Chapter XVI, there are many other Zionist youth societies, *e.g.* the "Young Judea" association in the United States with some 50,000 members, and the Universal Union "Hehaluz" which trains prospective settlers for Palestine. The latter had, in 1933, 83,000 members in twenty countries (especially in Poland, Roumania, Lithuania, and Germany), 16,000 of whom were receiving a professional training. The "Hashomer Hazair", with its head office in Warsaw and a membership of 45,000 in Eastern Europe, is Zionist, but aims at developing Palestine on Socialist lines; 1500 of its members have settled in Palestine. Similar in outlook are the Union of Jewish youth organizations: "Brith Hanoar"; the "Gordonia" (named after the late Zionist-Socialist leader in Palestine, A. D. Gordon), with about 32,000 members in 1933; and the youth organization

"Liberty", founded by the Zionist Labour Party, the Poale Zion—all three with headquarters in Warsaw. On the other hand, the association of grammar-school students "Masada" in Poland, and the union "Brith Trumpeldor" (named after Joseph Trumpeldor, founder of the "Hehaluz", killed in an Arab attack in Palestine), which in 1931 had 22,000 members in 22 countries, are anti-Socialist, and emphasize the need of giving young men a military training. The "Brith Trumpeldor" is represented in Palestine as well as in Eastern Europe, and belongs to the Revisionist wing of the Zionist Organization. Among the Zionist youth societies, the "Zeire Mizrachi" in Poland and Germany, and the Haluz-groups, "Dat Waawoda", are of a religious character and train their members for life in Palestine, but aim at keeping up traditional Judaism in Palestine, where they form the labour organization "Poale Mizrachi".

There is further the Young Men's Hebrew Association in the United States, run on the lines of the Y.M.C.A., and the "Union Universelle de la Jeunesse Juive" in Paris, with branches in France, Holland, etc., whose members are chiefly drawn from among the Sephardic youth.

A place apart is taken by the Jewish student societies, formed in Germany since the end of the nineteenth century, in imitation of the German student societies. Those united in the "Kartell-Convent" (K.C.) stress their German patriotic character, consider the fight against anti-Semitism their chief task, and train their members to defend their honour in duels. The national Jewish or Zionist student societies form the "Kartell jüdischer Verbindungen" (K.J.V.). Jewish student societies of various shades exist also in the United States, in Vienna, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, etc.

These youth organizations are of importance for Judaism, even where their tendencies are not distinctly Jewish, as their exclusively Jewish membership binds them to Jewish interests, and leads them into the Jewish path.

(4) Social Intercourse

Before the new rise of anti-Semitism, Jews in culturally advanced countries nearly everywhere moved also in non-Jewish society, but now in many countries have withdrawn, or had to withdraw from it, forming their own Jewish lodges, clubs, social and educational societies. This form of "social inbreeding" is most highly developed where the Jews, so far, have not completely adjusted themselves to their cultural surroundings, *e.g.* in the United States, where the majority of the Jews are the first or second generation of immigrants. Social intercourse between Jews and non-Jews was common in Germany during the Liberal era (in the second half of the nineteenth century), but has decreased considerably, surviving longest in literary and artistic circles. In the other strata of the population Jews and non-Jews meet professionally, but there is very little social intercourse. Anti-Semitism forces the Jews into a defensive position and increases their solidarity; it has thereby checked assimilation, and strengthened the Jewish national consciousness, which was at an ebb in Western and Central Europe. None the less, the number of baptisms and mixed marriages has increased, though probably much less than it would have, were there not the barrier of anti-Semitism.

CHAPTER XXIII

FORMATION OF NEW JEWISH CENTRES

(1) HEGEMONY IN JEWRY

UP to the nineteenth century there was only one great Jewish centre, that in Eastern Europe, comprising millions of Jews, and exercising a decisive influence on Jewish movements and history. In the nineteenth century a new centre arose in Germany, numerically much inferior to the East European, but superior to it in political and economic influence. Also French Jewry, though unimportant in size, assumed a leading position; by founding the "Alliance Israélite Universelle" in 1860, they created the first Jewish world-organization in the Diaspora, and, by providing schools, took charge of the education of the Oriental Jews. Under German intellectual influence, the German Jews developed Judaistic studies, reformed the Jewish religious service, and, jointly with the French and English Jews, became the champions of Jewish political emancipation in Eastern Europe and the Balkans.

The predominance of the German Jews in Jewish affairs remained unchallenged till the end of the nineteenth century; American Jewry, composed mainly of immigrants from Germany, willingly accepted the intellectual leadership of the German Jews, till, as a result of the enormous influx of East European Jews, its composition underwent a complete change. While in the fifties and sixties of the nineteenth century American Jewish congregations sought rabbis with a knowledge of German, and many Jewish newspapers appeared both in English and German, in 1875 the first American Institute for the training of rabbis and

for Judaistic studies was founded at Cincinnati. The increased importance of the American Jews became specially marked during and after the War, when, by their large-scale philanthropy, they were able to afford relief to the destitute Jews in Europe. Thus even before 1933, as a result of the War and of the German defeat, the 500,000 Jews in Germany had to yield their leading position in world-Jewry to the 4,500,000 American Jews.

Leadership in world-Jewry has far-reaching cultural effects. So long as the Jews have any consciousness of unity, and so long as there exist among them differences in the level of education, wealth, and political influence, the poorer will look up to the more favoured, and the greater the assistance given by these, the greater will be their authority. In past centuries, famous scholars in Babylon, Spain, and Poland were asked to adjudicate difficult religious questions, and their dicta became law for the entire Diaspora; now leadership in Jewry is based foremost on wealth, political influence, and organizing ability.

(2) Ascendancy of American Jewry

American Jewry forms to-day numerically the biggest unit, and exceeds all others in wealth and political influence, great numbers among them having risen into the wealthiest leading circles. Although in the economic crisis of 1929–1933 the American Jews suffered great financial losses, never in the Diaspora have so many million Jews lived in one country in freedom and comfort as now in the United States. Their intervention on behalf of their co-religionists in Europe was successful on more than one occasion, and shortly before the War resulted even in the denunciation of the commercial treaty between the United States and Russia. The fact that most East European Jews have well-to-do relatives in America, and that since 1914

the American Joint Distribution Committee has done so much for their relief, makes America appear to them as the land of their hopes, the land from which "help comes".

The influence of American Jewry is marked even in the cultural life of the East European Jews. They have founded and maintain schools, orphanages, etc., and settle their curriculum; through officials sent to Eastern Europe they have introduced there their own methods in business and organization. Consciously or unconsciously they impress on the East European Jews the superiority of their own outlook, and American-Jewish influence penetrates into the remotest Jewish communities of Eastern Europe.

It is the view of the representative strata of American Jewry regarding the nature and future of Judaism that the tradition and culture maintained by the Jews for two thousand years is valuable and should be preserved, and that it in no way interferes with their full American citizenship. Jewish culture, of which religion forms a notable part, is to be maintained by means of the Jewish community, which is to preserve through the religious services the Jewish tradition among the adults and to teach it to the children. This view favours the adoption of English in place of Yiddish, and of secular education, but demands that Jewish tradition be maintained as expressed in religion, in the ethics of the Prophets, in family life, and in Jewish folklore. It sets up the conception of "accommodation" as against that of assimilation; it desires two ethnic groups to exist side by side, each preserving its peculiarities, without there being any conflict between them, while the assimilationists wish the minority group to give up its individuality. None the less it is difficult to draw a clear line between accommodation and assimilation. Once the Jews adopt the vernacular, receive their education in it, and religion ceases to be the dominant factor in their lives, little room is left for Jewish tradition. Through the narrow channel of modern religious instruction, Jewish religion and Jewish

history reach the children in homoeopathic doses, and only a certain percentage of Jewish children. Still, the "community" has done much to keep alive Jewish consciousness among the 4,500,000 American Jews, widely differing in origin, and to make them act together in important problems affecting Jewish interests in the United States and elsewhere. In this the "community" was powerfully assisted by Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe, which, year by year, brought a fresh current of vigorous Jewish life into America. If thousands of earlier immigrants broke away from Judaism, their places were filled by tens of thousands of new immigrants, firmly rooted in it. Thus the scales were steadily weighted in favour of Jewish tradition.

Now that the stream of immigration is stopped, and the American Jews are cut off from the East European reserves, the question arises whether communal organization and Jewish religious instruction will suffice to prevent complete assimilation, leading to change of religion and mixed marriages. The Jews born and bred in America now form barely one-half of American Jewry, but in twenty or thirty years they will form an overwhelming majority, and their inclinations will most certainly not be towards Jewish tradition. Mixed marriages and the joining of non-Jewish religious congregations are common among them. Their aim is not to be good Jews, but good Americans. Accommodation passes into assimilation. Judaism is regarded as an accident of birth, irrelevant to their mode of life.

The American-Jewish assimilation of to-day differs widely from that of the German Jews in the nineteenth century; to-day in America the non-Jews are less interested in spiritual matters than they were in Germany during the Romantic period, when philosophic and literary problems stood in the centre of public life. In America games and amusements now take up the time not devoted to business; and even with the Jews they have attained an importance utterly unknown to traditional Jewry, with its appreciation for spiritual values.

The old Jewish values have faded or disappeared, and Jewish life in America has lost much of its distinctive characteristics. Even in those circles where Jewish national consciousness is comparatively strongest, it is merely a faint glimmer, occasionally fanned into a blaze by tragic events—such as anti-Semitic pogroms in other countries—but is normally obliterated by other thoughts and preoccupations. This lack of intensity in Jewish life makes it seem doubtful whether, in the absence of fresh immigration and in view of the progressing Americanization, the American Jews will in the long run maintain the leading position in Jewry which their political and economic importance has secured for them since the War.

(3) Other Centres

New Jewish centres have recently been formed by immigrants in Canada, the Argentine, and South Africa, but they are not sufficiently important in numbers or in their Jewish cultural achievements ever to become leaders in Jewry.

Russian Jewry is now a mere shadow of its previous self. As a religious community it has been well-nigh destroyed by the Soviet Government, and it is cut off from world-Jewry by the political and cultural isolation of Russia. A limb has been wrenched from the living body of Jewry. The three million Jews in Poland and a few hundred thousand in Lithuania and Latvia, and the million in Roumania, who, to a high degree, still adhere to the Jewish language and tradition, and have been promised cultural autonomy besides legal equality, might become the spiritual leaders of Jewry, were their economic situation better. But all their forces are taken up by a desperate struggle for existence, and their dependence on financial aid from abroad deprives them of the prestige required in leaders.

The Jews of Palestine have developed an intense Jewish

life on new foundations. By reviving the Hebrew language, by building up the Hebrew University and a comprehensive system of schools, by bringing together many Jewish scholars and authors, by founding Jewish towns and villages, by turning to agriculture, by reviving old Jewish customs in historic surroundings, they have re-created a Jewish life which is watched with interest and pride by the Jews in other countries. Additional importance has been given to activities in Palestine by the international recognition of the Jewish National Home. The number of Jews in Palestine is still small (230,000 in 1933), and an increase by means of immigration requires material assistance from the Jews in other countries. But it has come to be realized that work for Palestine is not philanthropy, but is work for a new Jewish Commonwealth of unique value to world-Jewry. If the number of Jews in Palestine is considerably raised, and a new Jewish life grows up, after nearly two thousand years the leadership in Jewry will once more pass to Palestine. Twenty years ago, when the Jews of Palestine numbered only 80,000, and the majority of them lived on *khalukka* (pious gifts collected in the Diaspora), such an idea would have seemed fantastic; but it is no longer so to-day.

VIII. ZIONISM

CHAPTER XXIV

HISTORY AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF ZIONISM

I. HISTORY

(1) Messianic Zionism

The Zionist movement has a twofold origin: an East and a West European, a Messianic and a political origin. Even in the nineteenth century the hope was still alive in East European Jewry for the coming of the Messiah who from the uttermost ends of the earth would lead the Jews back to Palestine and revive their ancient kingdom. From time to time this hope received a further impulse, as certain statesmen played on it for their own ends; thus in 1799 Napoleon during his Egyptian campaign tried to win over the Oriental Jews to his side by holding out to them a hope of the revival of their kingdom. In 1841, when after the defeat of Mehmet Ali Palestine passed into the hands of the European Great Powers, Colonel Churchill, British Consul at Beirut, submitted to the Jewish Board of Deputies in London a plan for the restoration of the Jewish kingdom, but received no support from them.[1]

When in 1882 pogroms and anti-Semitic legislation reduced the Russian Jews to despair and gave rise to mass emigration, the vast majority went to America, but a small fraction, mostly of the intelligentsia, turned to Palestine. They thought that the Jews should not passively await the coming of the Messiah and the restoration of the Jewish State, but should seek to prepare the way for it by settling

[1] For the early history of Zionism see N. Sokolow, *History of Zionism*, 2 vols. (London, 1919).

and working in Palestine. This idea was first clearly expressed by Leo Pinsker, of Odessa, in his book, *Auto-Emancipation*, published in 1882. At that time Palestine had no ports, railways, or roads; the Turkish administration was inefficient and corrupt. The inhabitants, who numbered some 300,000, were on the lowest cultural and economic level; malaria and trachoma were endemic. In 1882 the 34,000 Jewish inhabitants—half of them Ashkenazim and half Sephardim—inhabited the four "holy cities", Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed, and Tiberias, subsisting mainly on charity from Europe; there were no Jewish agricultural settlements and practically no industry.

Undeterred by circumstances, the Russian forerunners of Zionism formed in Odessa, in 1885, the society "Khoveve Zion" (Friends of Zion) for promoting emigration to Palestine. They did not know either the country or its economic possibilities, and the movement was actuated by sentiment rather than by reason. Jewish colonization on a large scale was not as yet possible in Palestine. Although Baron Edmond de Rothschild of Paris took the greatest interest in it and, from 1885 onwards, devoted large sums of money to it, it was only possible for a few hundred Jewish families to settle there every year and start a new economic existence. Palestine could not become a refuge for the hundreds of thousands, nay, the millions, of Jews anxious to leave Russia. Achad Haam (Usher Ginzberg), who visited Palestine in 1890, reached the conclusion that although it could not receive a great Jewish immigration, it was fit to become the spiritual centre of Jewry. The return of a certain number of Jews to Palestine was to him not an end in itself, but was, by creating a centre of real Jewish life, to be the means for revitalizing world-Jewry. He understood that this was not possible without a considerable Jewish settlement in Palestine, which was to be economically self-sufficient; it was to consist not of traders, dependent on Arab customers, but of Jewish peasants, a future bulwark against assimilation.

(2) Political Zionism

Anti-Semitism, which revived in Germany and Austria about 1875, gave the first impulse to Zionism in Western and Central Europe, where the Jews were utterly unprepared for such a revival, having in the preceding two or three generations done all they could to become assimilated to their non-Jewish fellow-citizens. They believed they had earned their full admission among the peoples of Western and Central Europe, and their disappointment therefore was great when anti-Semitism, which seemed extinct, reappeared, showing clearly what a wide gulf still separated them from the non-Jews.

Theodore Herzl (1860–1904), the founder of political Zionism, openly admitted that the Dreyfus case (1895) was for him the turning-point. Till then he had regarded the assimilation of the Jews as a natural and desirable process, but the anti-Jewish passions evoked in the French people by the Dreyfus case as in a flash revealed to him the true situation. He realized the existence of a latent hatred of the Jews in the non-Jews which, at the slightest provocation, is apt to burst into a flame. He explained this by the fact that the Jews had no State of their own—they were defenceless against attack, and incapable of national achievements; if anywhere in the world they had a "Jewish State", they would be equal to other nations and would be treated as such. In his book, *The Jewish State* (Vienna, 1896), Herzl did not name the territory; only when he became acquainted among them, did he decide for Palestine. He then ap- with the aims of the "Khoveve Zion", and found allies proached the Sultan of Turkey for the grant of a Charter for the colonization of Palestine, but failed to obtain it. Still, by summoning Zionist Congresses in 1897, 1898, 1899, 1901, and 1903, he succeeded in spreading the conception of "a home in Palestine secured by public law" in a large

part of Jewry, founded the Zionist Organization, and even interested non-Jews in his plan. In 1899, on his initiative, the Jewish Colonial Trust was founded in London as the financial instrument of the Zionist Organization, and in 1901, at the suggestion of Professor Hermann Schapira, and under Herzl's leadership, the Jewish National Fund was started, with the aim of acquiring land for the Jewish people in Palestine.

Many hopes were based by the Zionists on "the creation for the Jewish people of a home in Palestine secured by public law". It was to be a refuge for those Jews who either could not, or would not, remain in the countries of their birth; through the foundation of a Jewish national and cultural centre it was to counteract the threatening disruption of Jewry by assimilation; it was to give the Jews a voice in international politics and enable them to protect Jewish interests where they were too weak to defend themselves; and by high cultural attainments in Palestine it was to regain for the Jewish people a place among the nations and make known their share in the development of civilization, now credited to individual Jews only, or to the nations among whom they live.

(3) The Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate

Even in Herzl's lifetime, and still more after his death in 1904, the Zionist movement suffered because of the cleavage between the "practical" Zionism of the East European and the "political" Zionism of the Western Jews. To the East European Jews Zionism meant the fulfilment of the hope for a return to Palestine, inherent in Jewish history, and they meant to work for it in Palestine, culturally and economically, even without having received political guarantees; while the Western Jews were primarily in search of a territory for Jewish immigration and self-government, to

be acquired by diplomatic negotiations—Palestine was to be that territory, because the chances of obtaining it seemed comparatively favourable. When in 1903 the hope vanished of reaching an understanding with Turkey, Herzl readily entered into the proposal of the British Government to hand over Uganda for Jewish colonization. The East European Zionists looked upon this as a betrayal of the Zionist idea, which for them was inseparably connected with Palestine. The Uganda scheme was abandoned, but the struggle between the two factions in Zionism continued, to the detriment of the work in Palestine, and by 1914 only some minor attempts had been made in the matter of rural and urban colonization. The quarrel only ceased when during the War Palestine was conquered by British troops, and Herzl's dream of a Charter was unexpectedly realized. Dr. Chaim Weizmann, a Jew of Russian birth but naturalized in Great Britain, in 1917 obtained through Mr. Balfour, the Foreign Secretary, a declaration from the British Government promising assistance to the Jewish people in the building up of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. When after the War Palestine was placed under the League of Nations, Great Britain received a Mandate for the country, embodying the Balfour Declaration, which thus became part of the Palestine Constitution (Palestine Order in Council of 1922). The Mandate bases the Jewish National Home in Palestine on the historical connexion of the Jewish people with the country. The Mandatory Power is charged with placing Palestine under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home, and in this work it is to have the advice and co-operation of an appropriate "Jewish Agency" to be set up for the purpose. Thus the legal guarantees demanded by Herzl for the colonization of Palestine have been obtained.

The geographical position of Palestine, next to Egypt and the Suez Canal, gave Great Britain a direct interest in a

settlement of pro-British Jews in Palestine, while her connexion with Zionism established for her a moral claim to the administration of the country. Nor were the Jewish sympathies, gained all over the world by the Balfour Declaration, a negligible factor, either in 1917 or after. But perhaps more important than any political considerations were humane and religious motives. Many people in Great Britain, and foremost among them Mr. Balfour, thought it only just that when so many oppressed nationalities were granted independence, the claim of the Jews should also receive attention, and that amends should be made for old wrongs inflicted on them. Moreover, many pious Christians in Great Britain, of the highest intellectual standing, believed, like the Jews, that the words of the Prophets must be fulfilled in the return of the Jews to Palestine. English literature of the past two centuries contains many references to that idea, which was most clearly stated in a now forgotten book, published anonymously in London in 1753,[1] when the naturalization of the Jews in England was discussed. The author writes:

> . . . I shall endeavour to prove from the Prophets . . . that the Jews are to be collected into a body again, and restored to their own country, and settled therein as a State once more after having been induced to come into some certain method of serving God, in a manner agreeable to Him. . . . I shall endeavour to prove from the same authority that the British Isles are to be the country, to which the Jews will owe their collection, restoration, and settlement abovementioned. . . . I shall endeavour to prove [from the Prophets and "the prophecies of Jesus of Nazareth and His Apostles"] . . . that the collection and restoration of the Jews . . . so far from injuring the inhabitants of Great Britain . . . will be a great means of securing their own liberties and completing their own happiness.

Similar ideas were voiced in the nineteenth century. In *Tancred* (1847) Disraeli expressed his hope for the return of

[1] *Reflections on the Past and Present State of the Jews* (London, 1753), p. 4.

the Jews to Palestine. About 1880, Laurence Oliphant, actuated by religious and philanthropic motives, tried to obtain the Sultan's permission for the Jews to settle in Palestine, while he himself, from Haifa, assisted them in their first efforts at colonization.

British public opinion was prepared for the acceptance of the Palestine Mandate by the British Government. In 1920 Sir Herbert Samuel, who was friendly to Zionism, was appointed High Commissioner of Palestine, which post he held till 1925. During the War a railway connexion had been established with Egypt, and during his period of administration the post and communications were improved, the equalization of Hebrew with Arabic and English, as prescribed by the Mandate, was put into practice, reforms of customs and taxation were begun, sanitation, afforestation, and land registration were organized on a modern basis, and legislation adapted to new requirements. Thanks to an ordered administration ensuring general security, to the introduction of education for the Arabs, and to a fairer system of taxation, and in consequence of a strong influx of Jewish capital, a considerable advance was achieved in the cultural and economic development of the country. In 1927 a Palestine currency was established, and a loan of £4,500,000 was floated for public works, especially for Haifa harbour. Towns and large villages were granted municipal autonomy. In 1922 a plan for a Legislative Council failed owing to Arab opposition to the proposed number of official members on it.

The relations between Arabs and Jews, satisfactory enough before the War, have since become far less friendly. In 1921 and 1929 serious conflicts broke out between them, during which several hundred Jews and Arabs lost their lives. After the troubles of 1929, which had their origin in a dispute about the right of the Jews to pray at the Wailing Wall, the British Government dispatched the Shaw Commission and Sir John Hope Simpson to Palestine to investigate the grievances of Jews and Arabs. Their reports

on the extent of displacement of the Arabs from land and employment, since disproved, influenced the British Government to the detriment of the Jews. In that spirit the White Paper of October 1930 was issued, in which the Arab rights were stressed and those of the Jews were pared down. After a Cabinet Conference had re-examined the White Paper, the position as defined by the Mandate was restored in a letter addressed to Dr. Weizmann by the Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald (February 1931).

II. ACHIEVEMENTS OF ZIONISM

(1) ACTIVITIES IN PALESTINE [1]

In 1897, at the time of the first Zionist Congress, the number of Jews in Palestine amounted only to about 50,000; by 1914 it had increased to 85,000–90,000, and, after having been reduced to 65,000 in 1918, rose again to 83,000 in 1922 and to 180,000 (17 per cent of the population) in 1931.[2] This increase is chiefly due to immigration, which in the nine years 1923–1931 left a net surplus (after deducting re-emigrants) of 70,000, of about 12,000 in 1932, and of about 30,000 in 1933. Under the Palestine immigration rules, Jews possessing a minimum capital of £1000 (£250 in the case of skilled artisans), or dependent relatives of residents in Palestine who are in a position to support them, are freely admitted, while labour immigration is regulated in accordance with a schedule fixed by the Government every six months in accordance with the prospects of additional em-

[1] See pamphlet, *The Statistical Bases of Sir John Hope Simpson's Report* (London, 1931); also my article, "Twenty-five Years of Palestine", in the *Theodore Herzl Memorial*, p. 195, published by the review *New Palestine* (New York, 1929); and Adolf Boehm, *The Zionist Movement*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1920–1921).

[2] For December 1933 the number of Jews may be estimated at 230,000 (20·3 per cent of the population).

ployment. The bulk of the immigration certificates issued under that schedule are handed over to the Jewish Agency, which distributes them among the various countries.

The money required for Palestine is raised by means of voluntary contributions to two funds, the Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemeth Leyisrael), which buys land and lets it to settlers on perpetual leases, and the Palestine Foundation Fund (Keren Hayessod), which looks after agricultural colonization, industrial development, the upkeep of schools, etc. Before the War the contributions to the Zionist funds were small, but they have greatly increased since the Balfour Declaration. Between 1921 and June 30, 1932, the revenues of the Keren Hayessod reached a total of £4,714,000, and those of the Jewish National Fund a sum of about £2,250,000. Besides, much larger sums were placed in Palestine by private Jewish investors in the purchase of land, the laying out of plantations, the building of houses, in mortgages, in industrial and commercial concerns, etc.

The agricultural population increased as a result of immigration and the influx of capital. Of the total area of Palestine, measuring about 26,000,000 dunam (6,500,000 acres), about half is cultivable. In 1933 the Jews owned 1,100,000 dunam (of which a million are cultivable), as compared with 400,000 in 1920; 300,000 dunam of the Jewish land belong to the National Fund. In 1920 the population of the Jewish agricultural settlements amounted to 15,000, in 1933 to 50,000, of whom about two-thirds lived by agriculture. A great part of the Plain of Esdraelon (Emek Jesreel), the largest in Palestine, has been acquired by the Jews since 1921, and more than twenty settlements have been founded there; in 1933 they had about 7000 inhabitants, engaged chiefly in dairy farming. A further area for about thirty new settlements has been acquired in the coastal plain, where orange plantations form the basis of agriculture. In 1920 only about 30,000 dunam were planted with oranges, of which 10,000 belonged to Jews; by 1933 the area had

increased to 200,000 dunam, of which more than half was owned by Jews. In 1932–1933, 4,500,000 boxes of oranges were exported (more than half by Jewish planters), and brought in more than £1,000,000 to the planters. Orange plantations in the coastal zone are the most lucrative branch of Palestine agriculture. The mixed form of agriculture in the Emek Jesreel, which consists chiefly of dairy farming, supplemented by poultry farming and market gardening, is less remunerative, and only just assures the livelihood of the farmer; but it has the advantage of working mainly for the home market. Least remunerative is the cultivation of cereals in the Lower Galilean colonies. An experimental station, founded by the Zionist Organization in 1922, aims at improving agricultural methods, combating animal and vegetable pests, introducing new forms of cultivation, and assisting the colonists with advice and instruction.

Marked progress has also been achieved in industry. While in 1920 only about 10,000 Jews lived by handicrafts and industry, at the census of 1931 their number had increased to 49,623. The main industrial products are cement, oil, soap, wine, flour, textiles, furniture, cigarettes, chocolate, and souvenirs; and an important place is taken by the building trade and printing. A power station founded with Jewish capital on the River Jordan supplies the country with electricity. The exploitation of the inexhaustible deposits of potash and bromide of the Dead Sea has been undertaken by the Palestine Potash Company, founded largely by Jewish capital and initiative. Jewish industry is chiefly concentrated in Haifa and Tel-Aviv. Tel-Aviv was founded in 1908 as a suburb on the dunes outside Jaffa, but now—in 1933—with its 70,000 inhabitants (99 per cent of them Jews) is larger than Jaffa. Similarly the number of Jews in Haifa, Jerusalem, and Tiberias has increased considerably, and modern Jewish districts have been built in these towns; in Jerusalem, 51,000 Jews form 57 per cent of the population. Tourist traffic is an important source

of income for the urban population. Many Jews enter the liberal professions (including the teaching profession) or become officials.

A network of Jewish schools was founded and maintained by the Zionist Organization, which in 1932 handed it over to the Knesseth Israel. These schools receive certain grants from the Palestine Government, and include kindergartens, elementary and secondary schools, training schools for teachers, and a Technical High School. In 1931–1932 they were attended by 23,120 Jewish pupils. Besides, there were other Jewish schools with 11,970 pupils. In these schools all, or at least several, subjects are taught in Hebrew. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, founded in 1925 with the aid of large contributions from American Jews, comprised in 1933 an Institute of Humanities (especially for Jewish Studies), and departments of chemistry, physics, mathematics, and biology. The National Library is incorporated with that of the University; they now contain about 260,000 volumes.

It is an achievement of Palestinian Jewry that Hebrew has become their language in Palestine. The task was not an easy one, as from a practical point of view the languages of the immigrants (Russian, Polish, German, etc.) might have been more serviceable than Hebrew, which is spoken only by a small community. But the Hebrew language was indispensable as a bond of national union, and this prevailed over all practical considerations. It has thus become the native tongue of the rising generation. Since the War also the knowledge of English has naturally increased among the Palestinian Jews, who will, no doubt, like other small nations, speak one world-language besides their own tongue.

The Palestinian Jews have succeeded in organizing themselves in an elected national body, the "Knesseth Israel", which is recognized by the Government as representing them in religious, cultural, and communal affairs, and is endowed with the power to tax its members. The ultra-

orthodox Jews of the Agudath Israel remain outside the Knesseth Israel, because it does not conform to their standards of Jewish tradition.

The revival of Hebrew has attracted Hebrew authors from the Diaspora to Palestine, which has thus become the centre of Hebrew literature. About 3000 Hebrew books have been published there during the last ten years—chiefly of a literary character and books for children, but also scientific works. In 1930 there were 56 Jewish printing-works employing 500 workmen, and of the 283 books published in Palestine in 1931–1932, 234 were in Hebrew. Also the Hebrew theatre has taken root in Palestine, and has made great progress since the War; there are two dramatic companies, the Habimah and the Ohel. The Jewish taste for music has led to the founding of several schools of music, and the most noted Jewish musicians of the world visit Palestine.

A marked feature of the economic life of Palestine is the growth of Jewish co-operatives, of which there were about 250 in 1930. Most numerous among them are the credit associations, which in 1933 had more than 35,000 members; moreover, there are co-operative stores, co-operatives of producers, for marketing produce, for motor transport, etc. Among the Jewish agricultural settlements, the agricultural co-operative farms (Kvuzoth) are numerous.

Labour, owing to its good organization, exercises a strong influence in political life; in the elections to the Knesseth Israel, in January 1931, Labour obtained half of the total vote.

(2) Influence of Zionism on the Diaspora

In Eastern Europe, where the Jews were still conscious of their separate national individuality and differed widely from their Christian neighbours, they enthusiastically welcomed the rise of Zionism which was to restore them to

political and cultural freedom. Only part of the assimilated upper classes stood aloof, and also part of the orthodox Jews, for whom Zionism was too secular and too liberal.

In Central and Western Europe Zionism came too late for the majority of the Jews; they had advanced too far along the road of assimilation to turn back. Though disappointed at the revival of anti-Semitism, most of them hoped that it would pass, and that ultimately the Jews would attain full equality; in the meantime they tried to make the best of things. Here Herzl's call was heard chiefly by immigrants from Eastern Europe, and by the students, who found in Zionism a dignified reply to the anti-Semitism of their surroundings—it restored their self-respect as Jews. From the students Zionism spread to other circles of the Jewish youth, and some drew the logical conclusion and emigrated to Palestine. Others, who could not, or would not, do so, assisted in the work of the Organization, and tried to strengthen the Jewish national consciousness in the Diaspora by propagating Jewish knowledge, by improving the communal organizations, etc. Were it not for Zionism, the present generation in Western and Central Europe would have been completely lost to Judaism.

The further the Jews were removed from East European influences, and the less they had to suffer from anti-Semitism, the less did they respond to the call of Zionism. In the United States, the movement has found the strongest support with the immigrants who had grown up in Eastern Europe, and had brought with them a knowledge and consciousness of Judaism; in the second and third generations of immigrants Zionism is much weaker, and it has found comparatively few followers among the Americanized Sephardic and German Jews.

Between April 1, 1921, and June 30, 1932, the Jews of the United States contributed 51 per cent of the revenue of the Keren Hayessod, and those of Great Britain with Canada and South Africa, 17 per cent. The average contribution of world-

Jewry (excluding Soviet Russia, where Zionist collections are illegal) amounted in those eleven years to eight shillings per head. In South Africa and Canada the *per capita* contribution is much higher—Zionism there is strong and the Jews prosperous. On the other hand, the low average in Poland is due to the poverty of the Polish Jews, to whom a shilling means more than ten or twenty shillings to Jews in some other countries.

With the East European Jews, Zionism has converted a vague hope or idea into a concrete, practicable programme, and focussed their desires for national survival; through it Jewish life has acquired sense and substance. For many West European Jews, especially of the younger generation, Zionism has called a halt on the road to assimilation; it has shown them the way by which the Jews can once more attain a life of their own, and regain their position among the nations. The numb indifference, characteristic of Jewish life at the end of the nineteenth century, has given way to movement and work. Moreover, Zionism, by appealing for a joint effort, by creating a world organization, and by holding world congresses, has revived the sense of Jewish unity. It has changed the Jews, who hitherto, at the best, were only prepared to combine for defence against anti-Semitism, into a community ready to undertake constructive work.

A new justification and impulse were given to the Zionist movement by the anti-Jewish policy adopted in Germany in 1933. The hope of attaining full equality, for which four generations of German Jews had striven, broke down, and in consequence many German Jews gave up the idea of complete assimilation and turned to Zionism. About 8000 Jews, mostly of the younger generation, left Germany for Palestine in the first nine months of 1933; there are, however, among them also many distinguished physicians and scientists, whose coming has raised the level of medicine and science in Palestine.

CHAPTER XXV

PALESTINIAN PROBLEMS

(1) The Absorptive Capacity of Palestine

The question which is often asked as to how many Jews can find a livelihood in Palestine cannot be answered, as the absorptive capacity of a country depends on variable economic conditions. During the four centuries of Turkish rule, Palestine was sadly neglected. The marvellous Roman waterworks were allowed to fall into disrepair, forests were cut down, while under the feudal system the soil was cultivated in an irrational manner. Political and economic insecurity forced the fellaheen tenants to limit themselves to the growing of cereals—uncertain in their tenure they could hardly plant fruit-trees. Thus Palestine, though in its climate and soil better suited for the cultivation of trees, was converted into a grain-growing country. In modern times, therefore, it could hold its own among the great new grain countries only by lowering the standard of living of its peasants to a degrading minimum. After fifteen years of British administration conditions are slightly better, but to this day the fellaheen, who form the majority of the Arab population, can eke out a mere pittance from their land. They live chiefly on their own produce, and bring little to market, so that their purchasing power is small.

This naturally results in a serious limitation of trade. In other countries Jewish immigrants find as traders considerable scope in non-Jewish agriculture, industry, and handicrafts, but whatever openings there are for trade in Palestine are already worked by the very efficient Arab traders.

The great Jewish immigration wave of 1925 brought many experienced business men to Palestine, who failed, however, to find occupation and had to leave the country. Conditions may improve if the fellaheen, as seems probable, take to more profitable branches of agriculture, and increase thereby their purchasing power. Further, one can count on a growth of the transit trade with Iraq and Persia through the new Haifa harbour, and as a result of the construction of a projected railway and motor road from Haifa to Baghdad.

Hotels, restaurants, places of amusement, and transport, which even to-day employ a large number of Jews, can be expected to develop still further with the growing tourist traffic. For centuries Palestine has been a sacred land of pilgrimage, and it still attracts Christians, Jews, and Mohammedans alike. Since the War, tourist traffic has greatly increased as Palestine has been linked up with the railway system of Egypt, the tourist country *par excellence*, and large modern hotels and good motor roads have been built. The Jewish work of reconstruction has attracted Jewish tourists from America and Europe. Every spring they visit Tel-Aviv, with its bathing-beach, marvellous climate, sporting, artistic, and social meetings, Jerusalem with its historic monuments, Haifa with its rising industries, and the agricultural settlements. The Zionists of the Diaspora now go to Palestine, as in previous times pious Jews went there on religious grounds. The main tourist traffic now lasts only from February till April or May. But the exceptionally mild and dry climate of the Jordan Valley, and the curative qualities of the Dead Sea and of the sulphur springs of Tiberias, may perhaps in future attract many visitors in search of recreation or cure, and may lead to the establishment of winter and health resorts.

Agriculture could offer openings to further tens of thousands of new settlers, if marshy districts, such as Beisan

and Hule, were drained, irrigation was extended,[1] and under a more intensive system of cultivation the present owners of land could gain a livelihood from a much smaller area, and sell their surplus to new settlers. The most advantageous form of agriculture is a combination of plantations with vegetable, poultry, and dairy farming. Such a family holding costs (including the land) about £1000; but only the younger people with an agricultural training are suited for such settlements. In spite of considerable expenditure, between 1921 and 1930, each year only a few hundred Jewish families were settled on the land. The experience gained will naturally be of use in the future; moreover, Jewish settlers with means of their own are now coming to Palestine in considerable numbers, especially from Germany. It is therefore not unlikely that during the next decade a yearly average of at least a thousand families will be settled. This would mean, ten years hence, an addition of 10,000 agricultural families—or 50,000 persons—so that the total Jewish agricultural population would have increased to about 100,000.

East European immigrants have proved enterprising and successful in industry, and many products, formerly imported, are now being manufactured by the Jews in Palestine. The further development of Palestinian industry will, however, depend on whether it succeeds in conquering also the markets of the neighbouring Oriental countries. The means of communication with Syria, Iraq, Persia, and Egypt are being improved, the pipe-line from the Mosul oilfields to Haifa will provide cheap fuel, and the immigrants from Eastern Europe bring industrial experience to Palestine, which is lacking in the surrounding countries. On the other hand, the Governments of those countries try to develop their own industries by means of protective tariffs;

[1] It has now been established that certain districts, *e.g.* the Esdraelon Valley, are much richer in underground water than was previously thought.

and the rate of wages of the Jewish workman in Palestine is higher, and his working day shorter.

Palestine is at a disadvantage as regards tariffs because, under the Mandate, it is bound by the "most-favoured-nation clause" to all Powers which are members of the League of Nations. As, however, the imports of Palestine are two or three times higher than its exports, trade could be managed more advantageously under an autonomous tariff. Palestine would then be in a position to conclude commercial treaties with the different States, and to claim special terms where it is a big customer; but at present it is free to make such arrangements only with the Asiatic countries which were formerly under Turkish rule and have attained independence since the War—Syria, Iraq, and Arabia. Till now (1933) a satisfactory commercial treaty has been concluded only with Syria, while with Iraq negotiations are in progress. Endeavours to include Palestine among the countries of the British Empire which since the Ottawa Conference of 1932 have enjoyed preferential tariffs, have so far been unsuccessful, but are being continued.

Under these conditions it is very difficult to foresee what number of Jewish immigrants Palestine will be able to absorb. In making an estimate for the next ten years, one might argue from past experience that for every one hundred inhabitants living by agriculture, two or three hundred have found employment in other occupations; and should the export trade, which hitherto has been small, increase, the proportion would improve still further. On the previous basis, if in ten years the Jewish agricultural population were to increase by 50,000, the total Jewish population (including the natural increase) would grow to about half a million. Then 3 per cent of world-Jewry would live in Palestine, forming about 30 per cent of its population. It is probable that in the following decade a similar, or even larger, programme could more easily be carried out; hitherto every mass immigration of Jews has proved that,

once the initial difficulties are overcome, immigration increases automatically.

(2) Endeavours at Social Reform

Already in the days of Herzl, Zionists declared that the Jews must not transplant to Palestine all the economic and social conditions of their life in the Diaspora, whether these were freely assumed or forced upon them; with the legal status and occupational structure, their social ethics must undergo a change. Thus the Jewish National Fund was started in order to acquire Palestinian land for the Jewish people, and to prevent land speculation and profiteering by individuals at the expense of the community. Herzl also favoured a seven-hours day, co-operative agricultural settlements, political equality for women, etc. These initial social tendencies were emphasized by the fact that a large proportion of the immigrants to Palestine consisted of young people, educated in Russia during the period of intense social ferment after 1900. For them the new national life in Palestine meant social reform, and they demanded that European or American capitalism should not be slavishly reproduced, but that a fairer social system should be the aim; the exponent of this idea has been the Organization of Jewish Workmen in Palestine, founded in 1920 as a trade union organization. Further, there were two political labour parties, the Marxist "Achdut Awodah", and the less doctrinaire "Hapoel Hazair": in 1929 they joined into one party, which belongs to the Socialist (Second) International. Within the Zionist Organization the Labour Party stands for the principles of the Jewish National Fund, *i.e.* that land should be given on a perpetual lease to agricultural settlers while the ownership is vested in the community; for a co-operative organization of credit and trade; for an eight-hours day; prohibition of child labour; fair wages, progressive taxation, free education, etc. It upholds the idea

of collective production in agriculture (*kvuzah*) where demanded by the settlers, though it does not oppose individual farms, provided the settler cultivates his land with the help of his family, without hired labour. In 1933 the membership of the trade union organization amounted to 35,000, as against 4400 in 1920; it included also office workers and members of the liberal professions, 8700 wives of members, and 1500 members of the Labour youth organization. It runs its own health insurance, a hospital, sanatoriums, clinics, a theatre, schools, libraries, credit associations, and labour exchanges. It has succeeded in raising the Jewish workman's standard of living above the average level of the country; and, in the absence of legal regulations, has managed to introduce the eight-hours day in industry and the plantations, and to eliminate child labour; and, to a large extent, to collectivize labour in agriculture and handicrafts. In all these matters the Jewish economic system in Palestine forms a contrast to that of all the other Oriental countries, where starvation wages, unlimited working hours, and child labour are the rule.

Social reform in Palestine is assisted by the fact that there capitalism is only in its initial stages, and not dominant as in Europe, where some of its forms continue by force of inertia and because they suit certain private interests, and where a change can only be effected by a struggle. In Palestine, on the other hand, there is no need for the Jews either to overthrow an existing system, or to clear away its ruins, in order to create a new economy on new social lines. The energy wasted in Europe on struggle can here be used for constructive work.

The social demands of Labour and of the circles allied to it have not remained unchallenged. A part of the right (*bourgeois*) wing of the Zionist Organization claim precedence for national over social aims, and assert that the social endeavours slow down the pace of the national work. First, they say, great masses of Jews must be brought to Palestine,

no matter under what social conditions; after that the proper forms of social life will grow up; Zionism has sufficient difficulties to contend with at present, without burdening itself with social reform.

It is natural that opinions on social reform should vary with the material position of their exponents. European Jews who live in comfortable circumstances and only suffer from social ostracism or the mimicry forced upon them, seek a remedy for these in the Jewish National Home in Palestine, but not a change of the economic system. Those, however, who in Europe carry on a desperate struggle for existence—and the majority of immigrants belong to this category—do not wish it to continue in the National Home, and demand a radical change.

Labour realizes that under present conditions private capital is needed for creating an economic basis in Palestine, and therefore does not in principle oppose private economic activities. But it demands that the opportunities for labour created by Jewish capital should benefit Jewish workmen, and that these should be paid wages required to secure the minimum standard of a civilized existence. Their demands have been successful in industry and, to a great extent, in the plantation colonies, even where the employers could have obtained non-Jewish labour at lower wages. This deviation from economic principles on the part of the employers is explained by the fact that most of them emigrated to Palestine from Zionist rather than from economic motives, and consider it their duty to create employment for other Jews. It remains to be seen whether in the future the common national interests of employers and employees will suffice to overcome their conflicting economic interests, and whether, in the face of competition from non-Jewish employers inside and outside Palestine, the Jewish employers will be willing and able to satisfy the demands of Jewish labour. Hitherto many Jewish employers have been able to pay higher wages because they found exceptionally good

markets for their produce (*e.g.* for oranges); or because the new industries introduced by them met with no local competition; or because their Jewish customers paid higher prices for their produce than for similar non-Jewish produce. But this is not a safe or permanent basis. Propaganda for *tozereth hayishuv* (Jewish produce) will not work in export trade, and it will be hard to solve the problem how the claim of the Jewish workman to an adequate minimum wage is to be reconciled with the rules of free competition in a capitalist world. A partial solution may possibly be found by the Jewish workmen adapting themselves to the conditions of the country, and by an extension of co-operatives reducing their cost of living, so that with lower money wages real wages may yet remain at the same level. On the other hand, the progressive development of the country leads to a rise in the standard of living of the Arab workmen, and therefore to a demand for higher wages, so that possibly, within measurable time, the rate of pay of Jewish and non-Jewish labour will meet half-way. Should this happen, it will be necessary to prevent the immigration into Palestine of cheap labour from neighbouring countries, or else for these neighbouring countries to raise both their standards of living and their rates of wages.

(3) Problems of Religion

Up to 1880 the Jews in Palestine were strictly orthodox. This was partly due to the sincere convictions of the vast majority, and partly to the fact that the rabbis threatened any progressive-minded persons with excommunication. Most of these Jews lived on charitable gifts sent by devout Jews from all parts of the world, to enable them to dedicate their lives to the study of the Torah and of other religious works. This very fact forced them to lead a life of religious devotion.

The national Jews (the "new Yishuv") who have been coming to Palestine since 1882, and who had already departed from traditional Judaism, were at first a small minority in the midst of orthodox Jewry, the "old Yishuv". Even in 1914 about two-thirds of the 85,000 Jewish inhabitants of Palestine still belonged to the old orthodox type, and only one-third to the new national, progressive section. The proportion was, however, completely reversed by the War; the old people in the towns suffered severely and many of them died, while immigration on a large scale set in after 1918. By 1922 only about half of the Palestinian Jews were orthodox, and, in 1933, only about one-fifth. The orthodox Jews live chiefly in Jerusalem, where they form more than half of the Jewish population. The main body and the leaders of orthodox Jewry are of East European extraction and still speak Yiddish, but they have been joined by many Sephardic and Oriental Jews. The new Yishuv is not uniform in its attitude towards religion. Although the large majority have departed from tradition and represent all degrees of "progressive" Judaism, a small minority belong to "Mizrachi", who, contrary to non-Zionist orthodoxy, lay stress on the national character of Jewish life, but desire to combine it with religious tradition.

Jewish religion in Palestine has blended with national life. Old religious customs, partly or entirely obsolete in Europe, have been revived in Palestine—the strict observance of the Sabbath, the exclusive use of Hebrew as the vernacular in religious services, the Jewish character of the schools, the growth of purely Jewish villages and towns with administrative and cultural self-government, and the coinciding once more of Jewish Feasts with the seasons of the year and agricultural seasons. The ethical character of the work of national reconstruction helps to evoke creative forces in religion. The new religious life can take up old threads in Palestine, and many things regain a meaning and a background which they had lost in the Diaspora. Certain symbols and cere-

monies are revived, while others die out. But that which remains gains a new strength and vitality.

Perhaps, at some future date, it will be possible to revive in Palestine the old Jewish Synhedrion and so create a supreme religious court now lacking in Jewry (see Deut. xvii. 8). Other religions have some supreme authority with power "to bind and to loose", which gives a possibility for adjustments. In olden days Jewry had great religious teachers, invested with universal authority, who had the power to modify the rules of the Law by abrogation, interpretation, or emergency decrees, and who made use of that power. But during recent centuries no Jewish teacher of the Law has dared to enter that path. Liberal and Reform Judaism do not mark a development of Orthodoxy, but a revolutionary break with it. It is hardly to be expected that the authority of any one religious teacher should now be acknowledged by all Jewry. But Jewish Law ordains that one or more rabbis may convoke a Synhedrion of eminent Jewish scholars to Palestine with power to alter or develop existing laws. At the beginning of the sixteenth century an unsuccessful attempt to convoke such a Synhedrion was made by the Rabbi Jacob Berab of Safed. Possibly with the growing prestige of Palestine a further attempt will succeed, and then the creative work achieved there may receive legal sanction and Jewry be freed from its present religious discord.

(4) Jews and Arabs

A state of tension between Jews and Arabs has existed since the War, and was merely aggravated, in August 1929, by the dispute over the Wailing Wall. The Arabs, who had formerly been in undisputed possession of the country, regarded the Jews as interlopers when they came to Palestine on the basis of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. The leaders in the anti-Jewish campaign are the rich Arabs

in the towns, and during recent years they have carried on a very active propaganda in Mohammedan countries, and also in Great Britain and the United States, trying to influence public opinion against the Balfour Declaration.

The Jewish-Arab controversy turns on the right of the Jews to settle in Palestine. The Arabs maintain that, except during the Crusades, Palestine has been theirs since the seventh century, and remained an Arab country even under Turkish rule (1516–1917). They claim that to admit the Jews to Palestine against the will of the Arabs, and to assist them in building up a National Home, is contrary to the principle of national self-determination; the Jews may enter Palestine so long as this is in the interest of the country, and enjoy civic equality and religious freedom, but Palestine is to be an Arab country under Arab rule. They contend that Jewish immigration on a large scale, implying the acquisition of considerable stretches of land, would, in view of the small arable area, lead to the displacement of the Arab fellaheen and therefore should not be tolerated.

The Jews, on the other hand, base their right to enter Palestine and to build there their National Home on their unbroken historical connexion with the country; on their imperative need of Palestine if they are to survive as a nation; on their achievements in Palestine; on the part played by the Jews in world culture; and on international rights established under the Mandate.

In the very Preamble to the Palestine Mandate the historical connexion of the Jewish people with Palestine is quoted as one of the grounds for reconstituting there their National Home. In the consciousness of the civilized world, Palestine is connected with the Jews and not with the Arabs. Were it not for the Jews it would count for nothing in history, but through monotheism, the Bible, and Christianity the history of the Jews in Palestine has become one of the bases of civilization, common to mankind. On the contrary, the great cultural achievements of the Arabs are

wholly unconnected with Palestine. In speaking of Arab civilization one thinks of Mecca, Baghdad, Damascus, Cairo, and Grenada, not of Jerusalem; and even now Palestine counts for less in Arab culture than Egypt, Iraq, Arabia, Syria, or Morocco.

Nor have the Jews ever altogether left Palestine. The ruins of many synagogues, recently discovered, prove that numerous Jewish settlements still existed in Galilee in the sixth century, and probably even a few centuries later. Persecutions by the Crusaders reduced the Jewish settlements in Palestine, but none the less the uninterrupted presence of a certain number of Jews can be proved from the earliest times to this day. And all through history Jews from the Diaspora made pilgrimages to Palestine, or went there to live in the country hallowed by their national history and to be buried in its soil.

Even more than through that "remainder", the Jewish people in the Diaspora felt bound to Palestine by its Messianic hopes. The thought of the "*Geulah*" (deliverance from the Exile and return to Palestine) exerted a supreme influence on the Jews through the Middle Ages, and had it not been for that hope they could never have endured without wavering the sufferings inflicted on them at that time, and even in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Orthodox Jewry never accepted the Diaspora—called in Hebrew *Galuth* (Exile)—as final, and in daily prayer supplicated for the return to Palestine, be it from the ends of the earth. Only nations which voluntarily renounce their country forfeit their claim to a return; but so long as their thoughts turn homeward, their claim stands. Into the graves of pious Jews buried in the *Galuth* some grains at least are put of Palestinian earth.

Nor can the Jews survive as a national entity except through the National Home in Palestine; and this Jewish struggle for life necessarily affects the non-Jewish world, for the Jewish problem is an unsettling factor in the lives of

many nations, and calls for a solution. The National Home in Palestine will take off the edge of the problem, and although there will not be room for all the Jews, its existence as a refuge will improve the position of all. As Herzl remarked, the host has more respect for the guest who is welcome elsewhere than for one altogether dependent on him. And to every nation in the world a place of its own is due, be it in the sun or in the shadow; nor do the Jews ask whether Palestine was big or small, rich or poor, salubrious or unhealthy; they claim the right to enter it because it is the only place under the sun to which they have a national claim.

The claim of the Jews to Palestine is further strengthened by their having done more for the economic improvement of the country in a few decades than the Arabs have in so many centuries. Fifty years ago the Jews found Palestine in a state of hopeless neglect, and it is mainly due to their work that its productivity has been increased through improved agricultural methods, that malaria has been stamped out, that factories have been started, and new towns or suburbs have been built. Also the work done by the British Administration in the matter of schools, hygiene, roads, railways, and postal connexions is of the greatest importance for the Arabs; but it would not have been possible if Jewish immigration and activities had not increased the revenue from taxes, customs, and communications. In Trans-Jordania, where there are no Jews, the fellaheen live under conditions far inferior to those of Palestine, and look with envy on the flourishing state of that country. The Palestine fellaheen suffer much less from a shortage of land than from the uneconomic methods of cultivating it; and they can never emerge from their present bad position unless they change their primitive methods of cultivation and make better use of the available water, plant orchards, manure their fields, and keep better breeds of cattle. If agriculture were rationally developed, Palestine

would have room for tens of thousands of new Jewish settlers, without this in any way prejudicing the economic position of the fellaheen. The Palestine census of 1931 has proved the remarkable fact that the Arab population has increased in the districts where Jewish immigrants have settled, and has remained stationary, or decreased, where there was no Jewish immigration. Obviously, so far from displacing the Arabs, the economic activities of the Jews have created additional possibilities for Arabs also.

Zionism expects a revival of the cultural activities of the Jews through their resettlement in Palestine. Throughout the ages they have proved their creative abilities in various branches of art and science. Now their best forces are frequently used up in a struggle against hostile and numerically superior surroundings. Individual characters are strengthened by such a struggle, but others succumb, or fail to reach their full development. In Palestine the Jewish mentality, freed from enforced mimicry, would be able freely to develop along its own lines and through the medium of its own Hebrew language, the original medium of the greatest Jewish cultural achievements. Palestine, the Hebrew language, the Jewish community, and the return to agriculture hold out the hope of a national renaissance. There the Jews will repay all that they have received from alien modern culture.

The Jewish claim to a National Home in Palestine is now beyond all doubt established in International Law. Great Britain liberated Palestine from Turkish rule at a cost of 16,000 British lives. By the peace settlement Turkey ceded Palestine to the Allied Powers, which, in their turn, placed it under the League of Nations, from which Great Britain received a Mandate for its administration. The British Government, of their own free will, promised the Jews their help in building up a National Home in Palestine, and this promise was incorporated as an obligation in the Mandate. It is only circumscribed by the clauses which

declare that the building of the Jewish National Home must not prejudice the civil and religious rights or the position of the non-Jewish population of Palestine. The League of Nations and its Permanent Mandates Commission are to supervise the carrying out of the Mandate, and in cases where Jewish and Arab interests clash, they are to consider the needs of the two nations and try to find a fair solution.

It seems highly probable that in a calm political atmosphere an equitable solution could be found for the economic differences between Jews and Arabs, and that, in accordance with the Mandate, the Jews could enter Palestine and create economic possibilities for themselves without the Arabs suffering any damage. But such an economic symbiosis can hardly be established so long as the Arabs look upon the coming and the economic activities of the Jews as a political danger to themselves. They fear that their political position will be unfavourably affected by the growing economic influence of the Jews, because the proportion of Jews in the total population increases with immigration, because the Jews are acquiring a leading economic position in Palestine, and because their activities in Palestine have the support of world-Jewry.

Neither the Balfour Declaration nor the Palestine Mandate determines the future political position of Jews and non-Jews in Palestine. At the time of the Balfour Declaration, some Zionists and some non-Jewish supporters of Zionism envisaged Palestine as a Jewish State although this conception was not in the Zionist programme; and it is maintained to this day by the "Revisionist" wing of the Zionist Organization. The term "Jewish State" is ambiguous, but can be interpreted to mean that the Jews desire to govern. Arab apprehensions on this score should, however, have been allayed by the White Paper issued by the British Government in 1922, shortly before it was entrusted with the Mandate for Palestine, and defining its policy in Palestine and its conception of the Jewish National Home. That

White Paper was accepted by the Zionist Organization, and has repeatedly been confirmed by the British Government. According to it, the Government never contemplated "the disappearance or the subordination of the Arabic population, language or culture in Palestine". The Balfour Declaration did not "contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a Home should be founded *in Palestine*". As regards the Jews in Palestine the White Paper goes on to say:

> This community . . . with its town and country population, its political, religious and social organizations, its own language, its own customs, its own life, has in fact "national characteristics". When it is asked what is meant by the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, it may be answered that it is not the imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish community, with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world, in order that it may become a centre in which the Jewish people as a whole may take, on grounds of religion and race, an interest and a pride. But in order that this community should have the best prospects of free development and provide a full opportunity for the Jewish people to display its capacities, it is essential that it should know that it is in Palestine as of right and not on sufferance. That is the reason why it is necessary that the existence of a Jewish National Home in Palestine should be internationally guaranteed, and that it should be formally recognized to rest upon ancient historic connection.
>
> This, then, is the interpretation which His Majesty's Government place upon the Balfour Declaration of 1917, and, so understood, the Secretary of State is of opinion that it does not contain or imply anything which need cause either alarm to the Arab population of Palestine or disappointment to the Jews.

This declaration of the British Government ought to satisfy the Arabs, even if the Jews refused to accept it. But the Jews themselves have tried to allay Arab apprehensions of Jewish rule. The Zionist Congresses of 1921, 1925, and 1929 expressed the desire for co-operation with the Arabs, and recognized the principle that in Palestine neither nationality

is to dominate or be dominated; there is to be a State in which Jews and Arabs would live side by side as two nationalities with equal rights, like the British and Boers in South Africa, the Finns and Swedes in Finland, or the Germans and French in certain Swiss Cantons. A bi-national Palestine does not imply a renunciation of the claim to a Jewish National Home. If it is the aim of the Jewish National Home in Palestine to give the Jews an opportunity of shaping their own cultural and economic life not subject to the will of any other nation, the bi-national character of Palestine forms no obstacle. The difference between bi-nationalism in Palestine and the Minority Treaties in Eastern Europe is that under these Treaties the rights guaranteed to the minority are in a sense conceded by the majority, while in Palestine Jews and Arabs derive their rights on equal terms from the League of Nations. It is the advantage of the Mandatory system that it creates a political balance between two nationalities, even when they differ in numbers and power. Sir Norman Angell writes:

> Not the least service that the Palestine Mandate may perform is that, if successful, it may be a forerunner of a type of Government which will be more and more necessary, in some form or other, in various parts of the world. The government of Palestine is not a British Government, nor a Jewish Government, nor an Arab Government; it is government; "international" government, if one must give it an adjective; though "impartial" should be the description towards which it should strive.[1]

Of recent years the political conflict between Jews and Arabs has turned on the Arab demand that a constitutional system should be substituted for the present administration by officials, which works without the participation of elected representatives. The Arabs quote Iraq, Transjordan, and Syria as examples of countries formerly under Turkish rule which now have popular representation; and they claim that

[1] See *Foreign Affairs* for December 1930 (London).

as Palestine is culturally at least as highly developed as those countries, it is entitled to a representative system. Moreover, they point out that the Palestine Mandate distinctly states that the Government is to further the development of self-governing institutions. The Jews, on the other hand, fear that, if the Arabs were admitted to a Legislative Council in accordance with the percentage which they form in the population, they would use their large majority in order to render Jewish work in Palestine impossible in the future —a fear which is certainly justified in the present mood of the Arabs. The Jews are therefore opposed to any form of representative government, though they would prefer popular participation in the government to the present administration by officials. Their agreement to representative government is dependent on the Arabs accepting the idea of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, as laid down in the Mandate, and on sufficient guarantees being given that the Legislative Council shall not be used to defeat Jewish rights and paralyse Jewish work in Palestine. The Palestine Arabs hope that, like other Orientals, they will in the near future succeed in freeing themselves from European tutelage and in forming their own State. Many of them think of a federation of Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Transjordan, and Arabia, though at present differences in religion, cultural level, and political situation would present serious obstacles to such a union.

Colonel Josiah Wedgwood, M.P., a prominent supporter of Zionism, has proposed that Palestine should become, like Canada or Australia, a Dominion within the British Commonwealth, its "Seventh Dominion".

It seems that at present both Jews and Arabs incline to overrate their own strength. The Arabs imagine that their own numerical superiority in Palestine, the proximity of five million Arabs in Syria, Transjordan, and Arabia, and of three millions in Iraq, and the support of the Mohammedans in other countries, should enable them easily to overwhelm the

small body of Jews in Palestine. The Jews, on the other hand, in spite of their small number, feel strong enough to withstand an attack. They rely on the solemn assurances given them by the League of Nations and the Great Powers, and more especially on the material help and moral support of the sixteen million Jews in the Diaspora, among whom Zionism has steadily grown during the last ten years. Sooner or later both sides will have to realize that it will be difficult for either to break the resistance of the other, and that they are destined to live and work together in Palestine. Then negotiations for a delimitation of respective rights and reciprocal duties will have a better prospect of success than they have at present.

(5) Palestine and the Diaspora

Since the destruction of the Jewish State, the Jewish people has been engaged in a desperate struggle for existence, which it has carried on not by arms or physical force, nor by active attacks against its opponents, but by means of a tenacious, stubborn resistance; in this it was sustained by the hope that the coming of Messiah was at hand, was fortified by the heavy armour of a religious ceremonial which secured its national isolation, and by the faith in its mission as exponent of pure monotheism. When these defences crumbled under the impact of modern enlightenment, Jewish resistance weakened. In many countries the Jews have lost by now their national consciousness, or are losing it and are disappearing as a nation. This is often followed by the giving up of the Jewish religion; but even if the religious community continues, it is a mere shadow of the old national community. Previously the need for the continued existence of the Jews as a nation required as little proving to them as it does to members of any other nation. Only after the defences of the Jewish fortress had

repeatedly been broken through, the question arose in many minds whether the time had not come for surrender. Opponents of surrender had an easy task so long as they could claim a divine command and mission for Israel; but it is more difficult to justify a continued existence on rational grounds. It is not enough to say that the Jewish people has an obvious right to exist, like any other nation, and that no further explanation is required; for the Jews—scattered through many countries and without a territory under their own sovereignty—are not like other nations, but a nation unique in its kind. The right to national existence can only be based on the fact that so long as they survive as a nation, they can do more for the development of human culture than if they are absorbed by other nations.

It is impossible to imagine what modern culture would be like if the strands were removed from its multi-coloured texture which the Jews have woven into it: they have done it in ancient times through their religion, which became the basis of Christianity and Islam, and which in the Bible has produced the Book of all the ages; in the Middle Ages, by sharing in the Arabic culture and handing it on to the Western world; in modern times, through achievements in the economic, literary, and scientific spheres. Similarly in the future considerable contributions can be expected from the Jewish intellectual heritage; but that heritage can be preserved only so long as the Jews form a community of their own and do not merge into other nations. While they marry within their own race, there is the probability that parents of a similar mentality will hand on their qualities to their children; intermarriage with other races reduces those chances. There may be high qualities on both sides, but they have not the same tendency, and the result will probably be not a summing-up but a weakening of the parental qualities. The specific qualities acquired by the Jews in the course of their unique history will be lost, and humanity will be deprived of a valuable variant. Similarly the Jewish tradi-

tion, with its appreciation of intellectual values, with its sober, serious mode of life, its dislike for violence, and its fine family life, will disappear if the Jews merge into other nations. The assimilated Jews of to-day, perhaps without being conscious of it themselves, live on the physiological and cultural inheritance handed down to them by their ancestors; and it is to that they owe their success.

Among the assimilated Jews religion is given up completely or is so weak that mixed marriages have become frequent. Orthodox Jewish religion, which forbids mixed marriages, and Jewish nationalism, which is dominant in Eastern Europe, exercise no influence on the assimilated Jews of other countries. If the process of absorption by other nations is to be checked, an ideal is required which, together with, or in place of, the Jewish religion, would strengthen the communal feeling. We believe that, by uniting all Jews in work on the building up of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, Zionism can serve as such an ideal. The task of settling the greatest possible number of Jews in Palestine with the help of the Jews of the Diaspora will, through the common work, form a new bond between the Jewries of various countries. The Zionist Congress has created a new representation of world-Jewry, which it will be possible to develop still further in the future. The Jewish Agency for Palestine, on which non-Zionists are represented, marks a further stage towards a Jewish World Congress, wherein Jews from all countries will be able periodically to discuss their common affairs; such a Congress would contribute considerably to the strengthening of the feeling of unity among the Jews. Palestine will be a stronghold in which the Jews will maintain themselves through the medium of the Hebrew language, of Jewish education, and of inbreeding within the race, but it will also be of the greatest importance for the maintenance of world-Jewry. To many Jews who have visited Palestine, it has been an inspiration which has bound them anew to Jewry. The

number of those who make the pilgrimage to Palestine grows every year. Their own Jewish consciousness revives, and they carry back into the Diaspora the message of the common Jewish National Home. The Jews in Palestine will be but a fraction of world-Jewry, but their intensive Jewish life will endow them with a disproportionate weight and value in Jewry; and the influence of Palestine will check numerical losses in the Diaspora, or make up for them by quality. A condition of equilibrium may be reached which for a long time will preserve the present position of Jewry.

The special connexion between the Jews and the League of Nations, which is the highest authority for Palestine and has embodied the clause concerning the Jewish National Home in the Palestine Mandate, gives grounds for hoping that the Palestinian Jews will be given a representation in the League, and, like other nations, will there be able to raise their voice on behalf of their own nation and in the interests of humanity.

Naturally the fate of the Jews in the Diaspora, as well as in Palestine, is connected with the general development of mankind, and determined by it. Unforeseen economic or political transformations may occur, and political factors may gain weight in the Near East which are unperceived at present. No solutions can claim to be permanent, nor any forecasts to be final. Each time has its problems, and each problem can only be dealt with in terms of its own time.

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